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Sketch of the Historical Grammar of the Rig and Atharva Vedas.—By EDWARD VERNON ARNOLD, M.A., Professor of Latin in the University College of North Wales, Bangor, North Wales, Great Britain.

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CONTENTS.

Introduction.	Literary epochs of the Rigveda.	§§ 1-50, pages 204-236.
Chapter I.	Sounds and Sandhi.	§§ 54-144, pages 238-264.
Chapter II.	Noun-Inflection.	§§ 145-286, pages 264-293.
Chapter III.	Noun-Stems.	§§ 287-312, pages 294-298.
Chapter IV.	Verb-Inflection.	§§ 313-365, pages 299-313.
Chapter V.	Verb-Stems.	§§ 366-429, pages 314-336.
Chapter VI.	Pronouns, Adverbs, Particles.	§§ 430-459, pages 337-344.
Conclusion.	The development of Sanskrit in the Vedic period.	
Index of citations.	§ 472.	[§§ 460-471.

Abbreviations.

The following abbreviations are made use of, besides others that need no explanation.

A. See § 53. Cf. § 26. AV. Atharvaveda. Avery, Moods. J. Avery, <i>Unaugmented verb-forms of the Rig- and Atharvavedas</i>, in JAOS. xi. Avery, Verbs. J. Avery, <i>Verb-Inflection in Sanskrit</i>, in JAOS. x. B. See § 53. Cf. § 26. Br. Brāhmaṇas. C. See § 53. Cf. § 26. Delbrück. B. Delbrück, <i>Das Alt-indische Verbum</i>. Edgren, Semivowels. A. H. Edgren, <i>On the relation in the Rig-veda between the palatal and labial vowels, and their corresponding semivowels</i>, in JAOS. xi. 67-88. Gr. H. Grassmann's <i>Wörterbuch</i>.	Hopkins. E. W. Hopkins, <i>Prā-gāthikāni</i>, in JAOS. xvii. Haskell, Sandhi. W. D. Whitney and W. Haskell, <i>Statistics of external vowel-combination in the Rig- and Atharvavedas</i>, in JAOS. xi. Lanman. C. R. Lanman, <i>Noun-Inflection in the Veda</i>, in JAOS. x. Old. H. Oldenberg, <i>Die Hymnen des Rigveda. Prolegomena</i>, Berlin, 1888. RV. Rigveda. Whitney. W. D. Whitney, <i>Sanskrit Grammar</i>, Leipzig, 1879. Whitney, Roots. W. D. Whitney, <i>The roots, verb-forms, and primary derivatives of the Sanskrit language</i>, Leipzig, 1885.
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List of Tables.

Table.	Section.	Table.	Section.
I. Resolution of <i>ā ī ū</i>	73	Infinitives, absolutes,	
<i>y, v</i> : occasional cons. val-		etc.....	365
ues.....	102	V. Present indicative.....	387
<i>y, v</i> : occasional vowel val-		Middle and passive voice.....	388
ues.....	103	Verb-classes.....	389
<i>y, v</i> : trend to cons. values.....	104	Individual verb-stems.....	390
“ both equally common.....	105	Subjunctive mood.....	396
Resolution of <i>r n</i>	110	Optative and precative.....	396
Linguals.....	119	Aorists.....	408
<i>l</i>	124	Past tenses of indicative.....	412
Hiatus and sandhi.....	142	Subsidiary perfect forms.....	418
II. Stems in <i>-a -ā</i> :.....	164	Intensives, and thematic <i>ī</i>	418f
“ radical <i>-ā -a</i> :.....	175	Desideratives.....	428
“ <i>-i -u</i>	210	Adjectives in <i>-su</i>	428
“ <i>-ar</i> , etc.....	223	Futures.....	428
Consonantal stems.....	235	Causatives.....	428
Stems in <i>-as, -is, -us</i>	248	Denominatives.....	428
“ <i>-van, -man, -an</i>	263	Nouns in <i>-yu, -yā</i>	428
“ <i>-ant, -at, -mant, -vant</i>	271	General history of verb.....	429
“ <i>-vāns, -yāns</i>	271	VI. Pronouns.....	437
Pronouns.....	286	Case-forms as adverbs.....	444
III. Stem formation of nouns.....	312	Adverbs with special end-	
IV. Personal endings.....	335	ings.....	454
Augment, etc.....	353	Particles.....	459

Explanation of the Tables.

The statistical tables aim at giving a complete summary of the occurrences in the Rigveda and Atharvaveda. But where a complete verse is repeated several times by way of refrain, only three occurrences are reckoned. No statistics of Sandhi are given for the Atharvaveda: but they are estimated at double the number found in C, C₂ taken together. In the Atharvaveda, and where the number of occurrences exceeds 500, only approximate accuracy is claimed for the Tables. Grassmann's *Wörterbuch* (including the Appendix) has been found to be absolutely trustworthy so far as it gives information: unfortunately its lists of some of the most important forms are incomplete, and as a rule, where there are two occurrences in one stanza, only one is recorded. Max Müller's *Index* has been found a useful supplement in these particulars, and has been consulted so far as has been practicable. For the AV., Whitney's *Index* has been relied upon: but emendations suggested in it have not been incorporated: passages common to RV. and AV. are considered as belonging to the former only. Where the number of occurrences of any form is given without comment, the number in RV. is referred to, and if there is one only, the figure is omitted.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. For the successful study of the Rigveda no preliminary is more urgently needed than a true grouping of its parts. Indian tradition has faithfully recorded for us the text of the hymns, but not their mutual relations: the order of the hymns and the maṇḍalas is largely mechanical, and depends on the counting of verses and the ordering of deities, and not upon the antiquity or literary character of the poems. Yet all European students are aware that there is an order of time to be found, though they

differ greatly both as to the time-limits of the Rigveda as a whole, and as to the arrangement of its parts within those limits. Professor Pischel,¹ for instance, could write in 1879, "There is to-day scarcely room left for a doubt that many hymns are no earlier than the period of the Sūtras:" and the writers who agree with him are constantly busy in connecting Vedic hymns with later Sanskrit writing. On the other hand, H. Brunnhofer,² who asks 1000 years for the composition of the hymns, attributes them roughly to the period 2500–1500 B. C. To Pischel accordingly the hymns are a truly Indian product: to Brunnhofer they are the work of the poets of North Iran, from the Caspian Sea to the Punjab. To both writers, western and early, eastern and late are on the whole synonymous.³ On the general question the present writer stands entirely on the side of Brunnhofer: and this article will include constant references to the literary peculiarities which separate even the latest hymns of the Rigveda by a broad gulf from the period of the Brāhmaṇas, and still more from the period of the Sūtras. On the other hand, the early dates suggested by Brunnhofer, though novel, seem to me not unreasonable: and this article will point to the long development of form and idiom in the Rigveda, for which adequate room must somewhere be found in a period wholly anterior to that of the Brāhmaṇas and even of the Atharvaveda taken as a whole.

§ 2. It is not however of the same importance to fix the absolute date of the Rigveda as to determine the relative date of its parts. For this latter purpose we depend entirely upon internal evidence; but this evidence exists in embarrassing abundance, and every writer on the Rigveda has taken it into account. A sketch of the principal theories so far put forward, largely by way of *obiter dicta*, will I think show that there is general agreement upon principles, and that the problem that remains is that of the faithful application of those principles to the mass of details which present themselves.

§ 3. H. Grassmann (*Uebersetzung*, 1876) noticed that the six maṇḍalas, ii.–vii., were arranged according to one principle, and that in each the hymns to Agni stand first, those to Indra next, and then others according to certain mechanical rules. This arrangement is only broken occasionally by hymns or fragments which clearly betray a late character. So far we have (i.) six parallel family collections of hymns, (ii.) later additions to them at a period subsequent not only to the composition of the hymns, but also to their formal arrangement.

With these "family books" Grassmann contrasted the "collective books," i., ix., x., to which he assigned a later date on account of their miscellaneous character. In viii. he found a

¹ Gött. Gel. Anz., 1879, I., p. 163, quoted by Brunnhofer, p. xiii.

² *Urgeschichte der Arier in Vorder- und Central-Asien*, Leipzig, 1893.

³ A different view on this point is taken by E. W. Hopkins, JAOS. xvii. 80 seq.

principle of arrangement wanting, and so assigned viii. a place mid-way between ii.-vii. and the remaining three books.

Grassmann's theory is sound as regards the books ii.-vii., where he found positive evidence; but as regards the remaining books it has long been obsolete. The series of family collections has been shewn to extend to maṇḍala i. 51-191, which includes nine collections duly arranged and rightly placed before book ii.¹ As to the remaining collections i. 1-50, viii., ix., x., it is sufficient here to notice that no positive link is shewn to connect them.

Individual hymns and parts of hymns, believed by Grassmann to be later in date than the collections in which they occur, were placed by him in his Appendix. In many cases Grassmann also alleges the vocabulary as an indication of late date: but in others a hymn is relegated to the Appendix only because it is difficult or prosaic, and therefore not suitable for metrical translation.

§ 4. C. R. Lanman (*Noun-Inflection in the Veda*, JAOS. x., 1880) compared the date of the respective maṇḍalas² by a statistical investigation of the occurrences of the respective noun-endings -ā -au (dual), -āsaḥ -āḥ (nom. masc. pl.), -ā -āni (neut. pl.), -ebhiḥ -aiḥ (instr. m. n. pl.). Of these pairs of forms only the latter in each case is in use in classical Sanskrit. The statistics shew very clearly that the Atharvaveda stands very much nearer to classical Sanskrit in its use of these forms than does the Rigveda. The later date of the Atharvaveda has been universally accepted by Sanskrit scholars on various grounds, but the credit of demonstrating this date by statistics belongs to Lanman.

Lanman proceeds to apply the same tests to the respective maṇḍalas of the Rigveda, but without the necessary precaution of separating from each book those hymns which are later additions. He confirms Grassmann's view that the collections ii.-vii. are of much the same date, but he ranks viii. and ix. as earlier, x. as later. As he does not fail to point out, his results may be explained in two ways. Either the books as a whole belong to the order of time suggested, or certain books appear to be later because they contain a larger proportion of later hymns.

§ 5. H. Zimmer (*Altindisches Leben*, p. 355, 1879) deems ii.-viii. to be the oldest part of the RV.; and i., x. later. In the latter books he finds an astronomical terminology which he holds to be derived from Babylon. His argument however only applies to the hymns in which these terms are found, viz. i. 162, x. 55, 85: but it is no doubt confirmed in his own mind by the general impression that books i., x. have made upon it.

§ 6. H. Brunnhofer (KZ. xxv., 1881) made a statistical investigation of the infinitive forms in the Rigveda, which he divided according to the families to which the hymns are attributed. This division has advantages over the division into maṇḍalas, but

¹ Of this correction of Grassmann's theory Professor Hopkins is aware (JAOS. xvii. 23, second note); but he has not taken it into account.

² First published notice was in PAOS. for October 1877 = JAOS. x.

is in general agreement with it. As indications of early date he takes the infinitives in *-dhai* (2) and *-dhyai* (61): of late date, those in *-taye* (214), *-tyai* (5), *-tum* (4), as notes of the Brāhmaṇa period. Accordingly he places the family collections in the following order: Gautama (iv.), Bhāradvāja (vi.), Vāsiṣṭha (vii.), Ātreya (v.), Vaiçvāmītra (iii.), Bhārgava (ii.), Āṅgīrasa (i., viii.), Kāṇva (i., viii.).

Brunnhöfer's work is carried out in a critical spirit, and with care in detail: and it is to be regretted that the author himself in his later writings minimizes the value of its method. But it must be noted, first that the whole number of infinitives distinguished as old and late is not large, and forms an insecure basis for so detailed an arrangement; secondly, that the statement that the infinitives in *-taye*, *-tyai* are notes of the Brāhmaṇic period seems destitute of foundation, whilst a form in *-dhai* cannot be assumed on the strength of the single word *vayodhai*; and also that the forms *-tyai*, *-tum* hardly occur in RV. Brunnhöfer has therefore only shewn us that no one of the family collections approximates to later literature in the use of infinitives: but that the "family books" use more often *-dhyai*, and the collections in i., viii., the form *-taye*. The relative date of these forms respectively remains for further investigation; see below, §§ 27, 354, 355, 358.

§ 7. H. Oldenberg (*Die Hymnen des Rigveda: Prolegomena*, Berlin, 1888) greatly advanced our knowledge. He was the first after Grassmann to make a list of those hymns which he believed to be later additions to the respective collections. In this he relied largely upon the arrangement, but he found still more distinct evidence in the prevalence in the latest hymns of a particular rhythm, which he names "the later Anuṣṭubh." Further he traced in i. 1-50 and in viii. a common principle of arrangement, in so far as each consists of a number of small collections in which no precedence is given to the Agni hymns; in most of them the Indra hymns, which are most in number, precede. Thus the "family books" i. 51-vii. are preceded and followed by the collections i. 1-50 and viii., which are connected by arrangement as well as by the metres prevalent in them, namely those in which the verses of eight syllables preponderate. This resemblance in metre is obvious, and yet has been neglected by the preceding writers in their arrangement: we may conveniently describe it by naming books i. 1-50 and viii. collections of *Sāman* or "song," in contrast to i. 51-vii., which are in the main collections of *Rik* or "recitation." Whether the "song" or "recitation" is on the whole earlier, Oldenberg does not attempt to decide. As to book ix., he points out clearly the evidence that the Soma hymns belong to the family collections, although they are no longer grouped with them. On one point, he has no doubt: books i.-ix. formed a complete whole, and were so recognized before the poems of book x. (in the main) were written. His arrangement of the RV. is therefore as follows: first, books i.-ix.; second, hymns added later to i.-ix.; and then x.

Oldenberg's argument is as just in what it decides as in what it leaves undecided, and the grouping i.-ix.; x. must on all grounds be preferred to Grassmann's unsupported grouping ii.-vii.; viii.; i., ix., x. The first is based upon a careful analysis of the character and form of the hymns: the latter merely on the superficial observation that the books viii., i., ix., x., as finally arranged, each contain more than one of the earlier collections which are the basis of all. Further, the later date of book x. is supported by a *consensus* of opinion: whilst the relatively later date of viii., i., ix. has been constantly called in question.

§ 8. Professor E. W. Hopkins (JAOS. xvi., 1894, and elsewhere) first examines the question of the date of book viii. by "the delicate test of sacrosanct numbers." Unfortunately he begins by assuming that books i., ix., x. form a group later than ii.-vii., whereas all that will be generally admitted is that x. is later. He takes note from time to time of individual hymns that are later than their surroundings, but apparently without binding himself to any definite list. In the books i., viii., ix., x. he finds a constant recurrence of the 'holy numbers' *three* ('three dawns', 'three far distances', etc.), *seven* ('seven hotars,' 'seven rivers'), *ten*, *twenty-one*, *thirty-three*, and so forth. Of this investigation Hopkins himself writes that "the range is so small that the results can only be accepted tentatively;" and in this respect it stands in the same position as Brunnhofer's study of the infinitive forms. On the whole, I believe the argument to be sound, and that the increasing emphasis laid on these figures indicates a later date and a more technical school of theology. On the other hand the invention of a *Dvita* to accompany *Trita* is only found in a late addition to book viii. (47. 16); and in the numbers 10,000 and 60,000, whether applied to cattle or conquered foes, I see no evidence at all of late date.

§ 9. At about the same time (in Roth's *Festgruss*, 1893) I investigated the occurrences of the letter *l* in the Rigveda. This too is an enquiry of limited range. The letter occurs much more frequently in AV. than in RV.; in the later hymns of i.-ix. and in x. more often than in the rest of the RV., but not so often as in AV. On the other hand it is extremely rare in books iv., vi., vii., viii., ix. This result tends to support rather the conclusion of Lanman than that of Brunnhofer or Hopkins, so far as concerns the date of book viii.

§ 10. The result of all these enquiries may be summed up as follows. The AV. has been shewn to be later than the RV.; in the RV. book x. has been shewn to be on the whole the latest part. There is a general agreement that books i.-ix. contain a number of hymns of much later date than the rest, but no precise agreement as to which these hymns are. Within the group i.-ix. it has been maintained that viii. is relatively early, and again that it is relatively late: and arguments of rather small range have been adduced on either side. As to the other books, there has been no adequate investigation: but it may perhaps be said that there is a rather wide *consensus* which places book vii. early, and book i. late.

§ 11. Thus if we compare the earlier parts of the Vedic collections to the mountain-tops, and the later additions to the plains below, we may say that the thick mist which has long enveloped the whole is gradually lifting, and that observers have been able to agree in describing the lower levels, and in assigning to each its appropriate vegetation. But the higher levels have only been dimly seen through the mists that overhang them, and their contour and relative heights are still matters of dispute.

§ 12. It is necessary however to notice that besides the more or less complete scientific researches referred to, we have a large number of assertions to which the same writers have committed themselves on comparatively slight grounds: assertions which are often quoted as though they possessed authority, and sometimes even as though they were obviously true and universally allowed. It is, I believe, a true criticism which gives high rank to the poetry of the Rigveda as a whole: but it is another thing to reckon as "late" every poem or phrase which in any way offends the taste of the reader¹. Faults of taste were perhaps not wanting to the earliest hymn-writers: and poetical capacity still lived in the period of the Atharva-veda, and has often revived amongst the Indians at later times.

In the following cases assertions as to the date of hymns seem ill-founded.

The hymns of Paruccheṣa (i. 127-139) have often been referred to as late: first perhaps by Kuhn (*Beiträge* iv. 212, 213)². Yet their complicated metre has no parallel in later times.

The hymns ii. 36; iii. 7; 29; 31; v. 44; 61; 73; 87; vi. 46; 47 are all referred to by Hopkins as late hymns, some of them as "notoriously late" or "of Brahmanical date." In most cases Grassmann appears to be the authority, and his reason is that the hymns are mystical, obscure, or exaggerated. There is however no real similarity with the works of the epoch of the Brāhmaṇas, and only a few verses of vi. 47 shew an approximation to the time of the AV.

The hymns vii. 15-17 are mentioned by Hopkins (JAOS. xvii. 51, 59) as later than the first collection of Vasiṣṭha hymns, "as is well known." But Grassmann, who states that the hymns are out of order, still attributes to them an early date: and Oldenberg has shewn (p. 200) that the first two are in their order. The date of vii. 17 is an interesting question: the hymn is certainly out of order, but not necessarily late.³

¹ So Hopkins, JAOS. xvii. 79 "a tasteless late poet."

² See Lanman, p. 424.

³ vii. 17 is a hymn closely resembling an Āpriya hymn, but containing only seven stanzas. It is worth noting that vii. 2, commonly recognized as the earliest Āpriya hymn, also contains 7 stanzas only, as does ix. 5. The stanzas vii. 2. 8-11 are borrowed from ii. 3. 8-11, as is shewn by smaller indications of metre: whilst ix. 5. 8-11 are written in the later Anuṣṭubh metre, though appended to a Gāyatrī hymn. Thus we have clear traces of a later recension in these two cases. The seven verses of the primitive Āpriya hymn probably corresponded to the seven hotars.

The *dānastutis* of book viii. have been often described as late additions, apparently from an unwillingness to believe that the poets of the Rīgveda could accept reward for their work.

Of the Vāḷakhilya hymns, Hopkins states that "everyone admits that they cannot be classed among the old hymns of the Rīgveda." There is however no internal evidence of late date, except for Vāl. 10 and 11.

Lastly a very important hymn, x. 61, in which the Iranian hero Nābhānediṣṭha appears, has received a bad character from Lanman (p. 481), and has I think been described by him as "late and wretched bombast."¹ But however much the crudities of this hymn may jar, the evidence of vocabulary and forms points it out as one of the few early hymns in book x.

These and a few other hymns are however exceptions : in a greater number of cases even the chance criticisms of scholars are confirmed by evidence, as sufficiently appears by the list proposed in § 15.

§ 13. I am now obliged to refer with some fulness to my article in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, xxxiv. (or Neue Folge xiv.), 1896, which gives the basis upon which the body of this article is founded, viz. the division of the RV. into five parts, which are claimed to be the product of five successive epochs of literary activity, all anterior to the period of the AV., which accordingly represents a sixth period. For these results I am far from claiming finality : but I suggest that the time is past for us to use the vague words 'early', 'late', 'very late', and that in their place we need a definite arrangement, which may serve as an approximation and be corrected from time to time with the increase of our knowledge. I also suggest that it is time that the evidence of date, so abundant in quantity, should be measured. There is hardly a hymn in the Veda which does not suggest to the reader at one moment early date, and at the next late² : and it is only the passionless indications of figures that will enable us to decide what value should be attached to these suggestions. Further I have attempted, in the article just cited, to include not merely one kind of evidence, but all to which it is possible at present to assign a tangible value : and though I have been far from succeeding completely in this attempt, yet the range of evidence I have embraced is I hope fairly typical of the whole.

§ 14. The later date of the Atharvan and *a fortiori* of classical Sanskrit is the fixed and proved fact upon which every investigator must and does rely. To separate from books i.-ix. those later hymns which approximate in character to the Atharvaveda is a first necessity : and the enquiry should be extended to book x. as well : for though we know this book as a whole to be later than the rest, it may well prove that it contains some proportion of earlier hymns. To separate the later hymns from the rest is on the whole no very difficult task : in vocabulary, grammatical forms, metre, subject-matter, and on the whole by posi-

¹ Cf. Hopkins, p. 55.

² Cf. Hopkins, p. 51.

tion, they are sharply marked off from the rest. They seem to me to belong to two successive periods, which I name respectively C_1 and C_2 . The hymns in C_1 are chiefly in a mixture of *Triṣṭubh* and *Jagatī* verse, such as is commonly found in the *Atharvan*, and they are addressed to a great variety of deities, not prominent in the rest of the *Rigveda*. The hymns in C_2 are chiefly in the later *Anuṣṭubh* metre¹. I give the list of hymns in parallel columns, with some short description of each.

The appended letters G. L. O. H. denote that the hymns have also been described as late by Grassmann, Lanman, Oldenberg, and Hopkins respectively. The following symbols denote the evidence I rely upon in each case :

- α. mixed *Triṣṭubh*-*Jagatī* verse, or *Triṣṭubh* with extra syllable².
- β. later *Anuṣṭubh* verse.
- γ. late vocabulary and grammatical forms.
- δ. position in the collection.
- ε. subject-matter.

For a more exact statement of the argument I must refer readers to the article in KZ. In this summary the evidence for the periods C_1 C_2 is not distinguished.

§ 15. List of the latest hymns in the *Rigveda*—see next page.

§ 16. Some reference may now be made to previous investigations in relation to these lists. Of the three hymns referred to by Zimmer as implying a knowledge of technical astronomy, viz., i. 162, x. 55, 85, two are included. The reference in x. 55 is not a certain one: yet it may be right to include the group x. 54–56 amongst the later hymns. Only the smaller half of book x. is included: of book i. the three hymns 162–164 are of such unusual length as to make the late matter quite an appreciable part of the whole book. Without, therefore, accepting the theories either that book x. or that books i. and x. are later than the rest, these lists would by themselves go far to account for the general impression that such is the case.

§ 17. In a great number of hymns (especially in C_2), the evidence is cumulative and generally accepted as conclusive: but there are not wanting hymns in which there is only a balance of evidence and a difference of opinion: it is then necessary to decide on the value of the different kinds of evidence respectively, as to which I come to the following conclusions:

(α) The mixture of *Triṣṭubh* and *Jagatī* verse (as defined KZ. p. 314) is sometimes contradicted by other evidence, and is therefore not a decisive sign. (β) The later *Anuṣṭubh* rhythm, where well marked, is an unfailing sign of the latest date: but the beginnings of this rhythm may be found in C_1 , and even (very faintly) in earlier hymns. (γ) Late words and grammatical forms are sure signs of late date: see next section. (δ) Position in the collection is not a safe guide. Several hymns for which there is good evidence of late date (at any rate as far as the period C_1 is

¹ See Oldenberg, *Prolegomena*, pp. 26–31; and KZ. xxxiv., pp. 302, 3.

² The type of such verses (e. g. Vāl. 11. 7d) is

υ - | υ - | υ || υ υ υ υ | - υ | - υ .

§ 15. Latest hymns in the Rîgveda.

C ₁				C ₂					
i.	23. 19-24. 24. 6-15. 91. 18-23. 93. 4- 8. 115. 133. 1- 5. 161. 162-164. 179. 188. 191.	Āpah Varuṇa Soma Agni-Soma Sūrya Charm Rbhavaḥ Horse-sacrifice Rati: Lopāmu- drā myth Āpriya Charm	γδ γ γδ ae γ ε γ aβγδε γδε γ βγδε	O GLO GLOH GO GLO	i.	28. 1- 6. 50. 10-13. 170.	Ulūkhala Charm Indra, Maruts	βγε βγδε γ	GLOH
ii.	12. 32. 4- 8. 39. 40.	Indra Charm to Sinī- vālī Açvins Soma-Pūṣan	γ aβδε γ γ	O H L	ii.	42, 43.	Çakunta	αγδε	G ² LOH
iii.	8. 28. 33.	Yūpa Agni Viçvāmitra and the rivers	ε δ βε	H O	iii.	53. 17-24.	Charm	βγδε	GLOH
iv.	13. 18. 57. 58.	Viçve Devāḥ Myth of In- dra's birth Kṣetrapati, etc. Ghṛta, etc.	γ γ βγδε αγδ	GOH GOH					
v.	62. 83.	Mitra-Varuṇa Parjanya	γ αγ		v.	40. 5- 9. 44. 14, 15. 51. 11-15. 78. 4- 9. ¹	Atri Myth Agni Viçve Devāḥ Charm	βγδ αγ βγδ βγδε	GO GH OH GO
vi.	9. 28. 47. 26-28. 48. 22.	Agni Vaiçvānara Indra, Gāvaḥ Vanaspati and Ratha Cosmogony	γ ae δε γε	GO G	vi.	47. 29-31. 74. 75.	Dundubhi Soma-Rudra Weapons of war	αγδε γδ aβγδε	GO O GOH
vii.	33. 44. 59. 12. 101, 102.	Vasiṣṭha myth Dadhikrā Charm Parjanya	γδ a δε γ	GLOH GOH	vii.	50. 55. 103. 104.	Charm Charm Frog-Brahmans Charm	αγε βγδε γδε αγδε	GLH O GOH GOH
viii.	1. 33, 34. 31. 1- 4. ¹ 33. 16-19. Vāl. 11. viii. 80. 89. 7-12.	Worshippers Woman's duties Indra-Varuṇa Indra Vāc	γε ε γε αγ βγ βε	GH GH H GH	viii.	47. 14-18. Vāl. 10.	Ādityāḥ, Uṣas Unity of gods ³	βγ γε	G H
ix.	112.	Professions	βγδε	O	ix.	5. 8-11. 67. 31, 32. ¹ 113. 114.	Āpriya Soma Soma	β βγδ βγδ βδ	GO OH GO

¹ These entries correct accidental errors in the list in KZ.² ii. 43 only.³ Wanting in several MSS. of pada-pāṭha.

§ 15. Latest hymns in the Rigveda—Continued.

C ₁			C ₂			
x.	x.	9. 6-9 = i. 23. 20-23.	x.	16-19.	Funeral hymns	<i>aβye</i>
10.		Myth of Yama	24. 4-6.	Açvins		<i>βy</i>
		and Yamī	57, 58	Manas		<i>βye</i>
13.		Havis	72.	Birth of the		
14.		Funeral hymn		gods		<i>βye</i>
15.		"				
27.		Indra	85.	Myth of Sūryā's		
28.		Myth of Indra		marriage	<i>aβye</i>	GL
		and Vasukra	87.	Agni Raksohan	<i>ay</i>	
34.		The dice	90.	Creation of the		
51-53.		The hidden Agni		castes	<i>βye</i>	GLH
59. 60.		Nirṛti, Asamāti	97.	The herbs	<i>βye</i>	
62.		Aṅgirasah	102.	Myth of Mud-		
71.		Knowledge		gala	<i>aye</i>	
75.		The rivers	103.	Indra-Bṛhaspati	<i>ay</i>	
81, 82.		Viçvakarman	107.	Dakṣiṇā	<i>aye</i>	G
83, 84.		Manyu	109.	The Brahman's		
86.		Myth of Vṛṣā-		wife	<i>aβye</i>	GL
		kapi	114.	Numbers	<i>aye</i>	GH
88. ⁵		Birth of Agni	121.	Who?	<i>ye</i>	
91. ⁵		Agni	128.	Viçve Devāḥ	<i>ay</i>	
94.		Grāvāṇah	129, 130.	Bhāvavṛtta	<i>aye</i>	G ¹
95.		Myth of Ūrvaçī	135-137.	Yama : Muni :		
98.		Charm for rain		Charm	<i>βye</i>	G ² H ²
101.		The priests	145, 146.	Charm : Araṇ-		
108.		Myth of Saramā		yāni	<i>βye</i>	
117.		Charity	151, 152.	Faith : Indra	<i>βyde</i>	
125.		Vāc	154, 155.	Yama : Arāyī	<i>βyde</i>	
127. ⁵		Night	157-159.	The sun : the		
139.	4-6.	The Gandharvas		rival	<i>βyde</i>	
142.		Agni	161-169.	Charms : Vāta	<i>aβyde</i>	G ³ L
149.		Savitar	173-175.	Praise of king :		
178.		Tārksya		grāvāṇah	<i>βyde</i>	L
				The sun	<i>aδe</i>	L
				Various : Vāta	<i>βyde</i>	G ⁴ L
				The creation	<i>βyde</i>	L
				Concord	<i>βde</i>	L

concerned) appear in their right place in the collections of books i.-ix.: others which are out of place, as iv. 15. 4-10; 48; v. 61; 87; vii. 17, not only shew no other signs of lateness, but have many of the marks of early date afterwards to be described: whilst the majority of the hymns of book x. are also free from other late notes. It would therefore seem that the ordered collections of i.-ix. were not complete collections of the hymn-material existing at the time when the collection was made. (ε) The subject-matter of the late hymns differs on the whole widely from that of the bulk of the Rigveda, and consists largely of hymns to minor deities, myths, charms, and hymns for ceremonial occasions. It is not however possible to draw a sharp line between the different groups in this respect, and it is particularly dangerous to be guided by subjective impressions of this kind.

§ 18. Of the evidence of vocabulary and grammatical forms more careful consideration is required, especially as this evidence

¹ x. 130 only. ² x. 136 only. ³ x. 162, 163, 164 only. ⁴ x. 181 only.

⁵ In attributing late date to these hymns, I have been led rather by the absence of the usual characteristics of the early hymns than by any positive indications.

has of late been depreciated in more than one quarter.¹ It is indeed most necessary to keep in mind the drawbacks to the use of this evidence. The occurrence of a word or form undoubtedly late does not necessarily imply that the hymn in which it is found is late: the word may have been introduced in a later recension, or in an added verse: it may even be a premature creation, not destined to be accepted as part of the current language till later centuries. Nor does the occurrence of an early form prove early date: it may be an archaism deliberately introduced for effect.² Especially with regard to the vocabulary do these doubts arise. The hymns of books i.-ix., numerous as they are, keep within a narrow range of ideas: and hundreds of words must certainly have been in common use at the time when these poets wrote, which never gained admission into the sacred circle;³ it is therefore not impossible that some of them may appear once or twice only, even in hymns of early date.

§ 19. These difficulties, so serious in detail, disappear almost completely when the vocabulary and forms are treated on a large scale. I have noted⁴ about 125 words and groups of words each of which occurs at least 50 times in the RV., being 20 times as often as in the AV., or 25 times in the RV. and not at all in the AV.: nor do these words recur in later Sanskrit:⁵ and about 170 words which occur 15 times at least in the AV., being $1\frac{1}{2}$ times as often as in the RV., and all of which occur regularly in later Sanskrit: besides a large number of forms which fulfil similar conditions. Of these words and forms as a whole but one explanation is possible: the former represent an earlier, the latter a later stratum of language.⁶ Hymns in which the former prevail are early hymns: those in which the latter prevail are relatively later. We may indeed imagine the case of a scholar so thoroughly immersed in the literature of an earlier period as to produce a poem entirely of an earlier style: but this presupposes a critical attitude which we have no reason as yet to assume to have been possible to hymn-writers of any of the periods we are now considering. The occasional introduction of a few archaisms

¹ E. g. by Brunnhofer, who has practically abandoned the use of evidence of this kind.

² This is well brought out by Hopkins, who writes (JAOS. xvii. 24): "It must not be supposed that the statistical results based on analysis of forms must necessarily be interpreted quite as they have been." The new interpretation suggested is that "poets that desired to give archaic effect to their productions could do so very cheaply by overcrowding their verses with metrical or formal archaisms."

³ Cf. Hopkins, loc. cit., p. 57.

⁴ KZ. xxxiv. 305, etc.

⁵ Except now and then in the Brāhmaṇas, possibly in their more archaic part.

⁶ Of this evidence Prof. Hopkins writes: "That this test is a futile one is evident. The subject-matter, as the author grants, is the determining factor in many cases. That the list of 'later words' includes *çvān*, *varṣā*, *sarp*, *udāra*, etc., is sufficient to shew the comparative uselessness of this test." To the criticism (JAOS. xvii. 26, 27) of my article from which this passage is taken I take exception, on the ground

would not be likely to affect greatly results deduced from the 18,000 notes tabulated under the headings of Vocabulary and Metre in my article.¹

§ 20. Although the groups C₁ C₂ appear to be distinctly earlier than the Atharvaveda, yet in vocabulary at least there appears a still greater difference between them and the remaining part of the Rigveda. Indeed in passing from the Rigveda proper to these later additions, the whole world of thought and expression seems to be changed. The difference between the Rigveda proper on the one hand, and these later hymns and those of the Atharvaveda on the other, is the fundamental distinction maintained in this article ; and it is quite different from the older distinction between RV. (without qualification) and AV. But the evidence of grammatical forms and of metre does not point to a difference quite so marked. Thus, of the forms considered by Lanman,² the dual in *-au*, which in the earlier Rigveda is only

of the inaccuracy of the statement of my own views, and the want of proportion in the objections made to them. Hopkins first states that I (Arnold) "desire to shew" that the Kāṇva collection is of early date, and that I endeavor "to support the proposition that it is older than the other family books." The conclusion at which I actually arrive is rather different from this : for though I rank viii. as earlier in the main than the collections i. 74-93, 94-115, 116-126, 140-164, ii., iii., v., yet I can find no valid reason to place it before i. 58-63, 64-73, 127-139, 165-191, iv., vi., or vii.

Of the three kinds of evidence on which I mainly rely, he puts out of court that of metre, by quoting an alleged admission of mine that "words and forms are a safer guide." This however goes far beyond my statement, which is that "in comparing this period (B₂) with that of the later Rigveda, the words and forms are a safer guide than even the metre." Where a marked change of metre is to be traced, that is almost everywhere in the Rigveda except at this particular point, I should be inclined to attach fully as much importance to it as to a change in vocabulary or forms : and the more so, because we have every reason to suppose that the poets of the Veda were entirely unconscious of the more subtle changes which the metre was undergoing in their hands. Hopkins's next statement is that "it is the treatment of the test of vocabulary which here calls for special notice. . . . To avoid a vicious circle, the only test here of early and late must perforce be the number of times these words are found in AV." This is again incorrect : a further test, and one which in seven-eighths of the instances confirms the first, is the occurrence or non-occurrence of these words in classical Sanskrit.

As to the words quoted by Hopkins from my list of "later words," it may very well be that they belonged to the earlier language, but they certainly were not admitted to the earlier literature. At the same time any special explanations which may be brought forward to qualify the importance of single words will not appreciably affect the weight of the whole body of evidence. That Prof. Hopkins's criticism was somewhat hastily put together I think I may conclude from the fact that one of the four words to which he takes exception in my list of later words is *udāra*, whilst on p. 81 he himself lays special stress on the same word, as an indication of the late date of book viii. and of the Avesta alike. I have therefore nothing to withdraw in my original statements : nor do they involve any such contradictions as Professor Hopkins supposes.

¹ KZ. xxxiv., p. 315.

² See above, § 4.

found in 2 per cent. of the occurrences, includes in C_1 and C_2 25 per cent., in AV. 60 per cent.: and the forms in $-āh$, $-āni$, $-aiḥ$ only shew a moderate increase of about 10 per cent. in C_1 and C_2 , but a further increase averaging 25 per cent. in AV. The explanation I suggest is that the change of taste first shewn in C_1 is greater than the interval of time: and that then for the first time the poets addressed themselves to an entirely new range of subjects, and began freely to use words belonging to a vocabulary which their predecessors had excluded. Roughly speaking, we may say that the poets of the later hymns brought the Veda down from heaven to earth, from the gods enthroned on high to the humbler spirits of the river and the wood, and from the great deeds of tradition to the daily virtues or failings of kings and bards, to the celebration of marriage and death, to the cure of disease and the expulsion, by wisdom's aid, of the hated rival in a husband's love.

§ 21. A division of the hymns of the Rigveda proper cannot be made with the same definiteness or certainty. But the same principles which have led us to separate off the works of the periods C_1 C_2 seem to me to lead further. And first hymns and groups of hymns can be found which stand very distinctly nearer to C_1 and C_2 than the remainder. All the hymns remaining of the groups i. 31-35, 94-115, 116-126, almost all left in x., and the majority of those in i. 51-57, 140-164, as well as numerous individual hymns chiefly in ii., iii., iv., have a much greater proportion of later words and forms than the rest: they employ the *Triṣṭubh* and *Jagatī* metres in almost equal proportions: and in both they affect the "cretic" rhythm -o- for the fifth, sixth, and seventh syllables when immediately following the caesura. This rhythm is rare in the other hymns of the Rigveda proper, but even more common in C_1 and C_2 . Further they shew occasionally a mixture of *Triṣṭubh* and *Jagatī*, and other peculiarities characteristic of the later hymns. In subject they do not differ so greatly: but a special importance seems to be given to Agni under his special titles, and to the Sun, the Dawn, the Waters, and other nature-deities. This group I have denoted by B_1 .

§ 22. Even in the remaining hymns a marked difference in metre may be observed. Some of the *Triṣṭubh* hymns,¹ especially those of book vii., shew frequently iambic rhythm throughout, and not rarely are defective by one syllable in the middle: whilst elsewhere the caesura is almost invariably followed by two successive short syllables which break the rhythm, and the full number of 11 syllables is invariable. That the typical hymns of book vii. are the earlier has been the general belief of modern scholars (see above, § 10); and this supposition, which alone gives an orderly development to the *Triṣṭubh-Jagatī* metre², is confirmed

¹ *Jagatī* hymns are here comparatively rare.

² The cretic rhythm characteristic of B_1 is even more strongly opposed to a continuous iambic rhythm; see note 1 on the next page.

by the evidences of vocabulary and metre.¹ In determining the relative date of the hymns of the Sāman type, there is greater difficulty. That the Sāman hymns which are included in the family collections from i. 51 to vii. are early, admits of little doubt: and not least the Parucchepa collection i. 127-139, in which the rhythm of the twelve-syllable lines entirely corresponds with the Trīṣṭubh rhythm of book vii. All the hymns at the end of book ix. (98-111), and all other hymns in the same metres (principally Anuṣṭubh, Bṛhatī, and Uṣṇih), have every sign of early date: such verses as are of twelve syllables conform to the early Trīṣṭubh rhythm, and the metres themselves are almost completely wanting in the later parts of the Rīgveda. Only with regard to the Gāyatrī metre does a doubt arise. The arrangement of book ix. indicates that this metre was looked upon as lying outside the group just described. It continued in use till much later times, and yet no important distinction of rhythm has been traced.² Further, many of the hymns consist of no more than three stanzas, and therefore their date is not easily tested. Yet the Gāyatrī hymns as a whole are almost entirely free from the notes of late date, whether in vocabulary or grammatical forms, to which reference has just been made: and no solid reason at present appears why they should not be assigned to as early a date as the hymns of the earlier iambic rhythm, making with them an early period A: whilst the hymns which follow the most strict, and perhaps the most perfect type of the Trīṣṭubh metre, are assigned to an intermediate period B.¹

§ 23. These results are entirely consistent with the statistics brought forward by Lanman, and indicate that the proportion of later forms in each book corresponds to the amount of later material it contains: but at the same time they do not claim for any part of books i. 1-50, viii., or ix. that it is the earliest part of the Rīgveda. They are opposed to those theories which postulate for any of these books a date later than the average of books ii.-vii. On this point we are therefore no nearer to a consensus of opinion, and it becomes necessary to consider the evidence for the opposing views.

§ 24. For convenience of reference the hymns referred by me to the periods A, B₁, B₂ respectively will be tabulated here: it being understood that the criteria of date allow a much greater margin of doubt as to the position of individual hymns than exists with regard to the periods C₁ C₂.

¹ The prevailing types are as follows:

In A ॐ _ | ॐ _ || ॐ ॐ ॐ | _ ॐ | _ ॐ and ॐ _ | ॐ _ (ॐ) || ॐ ॐ | _ ॐ | _ ॐ

B₁ ॐ _ | ॐ _ || ॐ ॐ ॐ | _ ॐ | _ ॐ and ॐ _ | ॐ _ || ॐ ॐ | _ ॐ | _ ॐ

B₂ ॐ _ | ॐ _ || ॐ ॐ ॐ | _ ॐ | _ ॐ and ॐ _ | ॐ _ || ॐ ॐ | _ ॐ | _ ॐ

² A trochaic rhythm appears in a few of the older hymns, but is rare even in them.

bk.	A		B ₁		B ₂	
	Sāman.	Rik.	Sāman.	Rik.	Sāman.	Rik.
i.	2-10		11		1	
	12 14-21 23. 1-15 24. 3-5 25-27 28. 7-9 30	24. 1, 2	22		13 23. 16-18	
	36 39-43. 6		29			31-35
	44-50. 9		37, 38		43. 7-9	
		55-57				51-54
		58 60, 61 63		62 64		59
		65 68-70		66, 67		71-73
	74, 75 79. 4-12 84. 1-9 13-15 19, 20 86 88 90 92. 13-18		80-82 84. 10-12	76, 77 79. 1-3 83 87 92. 1-4	78 91. 5-17 93. 1- 3 9-12	84. 16-18 85 89 91. 1- 4 92. 5-12
					97 105	94- 96 98-104 106-114
		122			120 126. 6, 7	116-119 121 123-126. 5
	127-132 133. 6-139					
	150	149 151-156			142	140, 141 143-148 157-160
	172 175, 176	165 167-169 171 173, 174 177, 178 181 183-186	187	166 189		180 182 190

	A		B ₁		B ₂	
	Sāman.	Rik.	Sāman.	Rik.	Sāman.	Rik.
bk. ii.	5- 7	11	8	1, 2 9, 10 13, 14 16 18-21 25-27 31, 32. 1-3 34 38		3, 4 15 17 23, 24 28-30 33 35-37
	41. 1-15 19-21		41. 16-18			
bk. iii.	9-13 16 27	25	24	1 6 14, 15 19, 20 31 35 38 43 46-50 51. 4-9 58 59. 1-5 61, 62. 1-3	21	2-5 7 17, 18 22, 23 26 29, 30 32 34 36 39
	37 40-42				44, 45	
	51. 10-12	51. 1- 3				52, 53. 1-16 54-57 60
	59. 6- 9 62. 4-18					
bk. iv.	8-10 15	1, 2 6 14 16 20-22 29 34	30	3 17 23 25 35 42		4, 5 7 11, 12 19 24 26-28 33
	31, 32					
	37. 5- 8	36, 37. 1-4 41 48-45 50. 10, 11				38-40 50. 1-9 51 53, 54
	46-49 52 55. 8-10 56. 5- 7	55. 1 -7 56. 1 -4				
bk. v.	7 9, 10 13, 14 16-18 20-26		5, 6	2-4 8 11, 12 15		1
	35 38, 39 50 51. 1-10 52	41	19 27. 4-6 40. 1-4 53 56	27. 1-3 29 33, 34 42-44. 13 45 48, 49 57	28. 4-6	28. 1-3 30-32 36, 37 46, 47 54, 55 58-60

	A		B ₁		B ₂	
	Sāman.	Rik.	Sāman.	Rik.	Sāman.	Rik.
bk. v. con- tin'd	61. 1-4 11-19 64-68 70-74 78. 1-3 86, 87			63 69 76, 77 83	61. 5-10 82 84	80, 81 85
bk. vi.	2 14 16. 1-45 42, 43 44. 1-6 45, 46 48. 1-21 51. 13-16 52. 7-12 59, 60. 4-12 61. 4-12	3, 4 10-13 15. 1-15 19-21 23-26 29 31-41 44. 7-24 50, 51. 1-12 60. 1-3 63 66-68 71 73		1 17, 18 22 27 30 49 61. 1-3 62 64, 65 69, 70	15. 16-19 16. 46-48 53-57	5-8 47. 1-25 52. 1-6 13-17 58 61. 13, 14 72
bk. vii	15, 16 31. 1-9, 32 59. 1-6 9-11 66. 1-9 74 81 94 96	1-4 7, 8 11, 12 17 19-25 27-30 31. 10-12, 34 36-40 42, 43 45 48 51-53 56-58 60-65 67-73 84-88 90-93 95		26 66. 10-16 75-77 97-100		5, 6 9, 10 13, 14 18 35 41 46, 47 49 54 59. 7, 8 78-80 82, 88 89
bk. viii.	1. 1-32 2-8 9. 1-9 13-21 10-13 15-28 30 31. 5-33. 15 34-38 42. 4-6 43-46	9. 10-12			14 29 39-41 47. 1-13	42. 1-3 48

§ 25. The intricacies of this arrangement make it difficult to follow, as compared with those in which the different books are treated as homogeneous wholes. As however all general indications lead us to believe that books i.-ix. grew up simultaneously, and as within each collection the arrangement is purely mechanical, it is impossible to arrive at the chronological order except by a consideration of the individual hymns.

§ 26. In order to aid the memory some general characteristics of the successive periods may now be given.

A. The hymns of this period include almost one half of the Rigveda, and almost the whole of the hymns in Anuṣṭubh and the allied metres. The Triṣṭubh hymns retain to a large extent a continuous iambic rhythm: Jagatī is rare. Hymns to Mitra and Varuṇa are found almost exclusively in this period, but they are far outnumbered by the hymns to Indra and (to a less extent) by those to Agni. The Sāman collections usually place the hymns to Indra, as the most numerous, first in order. As a whole this period may be shortly described as the period of iambic verse, or the Indra period.

B. The hymns are almost exclusively composed in strict Triṣṭubh metre, and the iambic rhythm is broken after the caesura by a succession of two short syllables. The Agni hymns almost equal in number those to Indra, and in the collections in which most of the hymns occur have the precedence.¹ This period may perhaps be described as the Triṣṭubh or Agni period, and covers about 20% of the Rigveda.

B₂. The hymns are composed in Triṣṭubh and Jagatī in about equal proportions and frequently employ the "Cretic" variation.² Specially prominent are those addressed to Agni as Vaiṣvānara or Jātavedas, to the Sun, the Dawn, Earth and Heaven, and the Waters. The hymns include about 30% of the Rigveda, and the period is one of Nature-Worship.

C₁. Triṣṭubh and Jagatī begin to be confused and combined in the same hymn: the hymns are addressed to the minor deities of nature and tradition. This period may be known as that of Myth or Folk-Lore.

C₂. The later Anuṣṭubh metre predominates, and the hymns approximate to incantations. This is the period of Charms.

§ 27. Generally opposed to this arrangement is that advocated by Brunnhofer in KZ. xxv. (see above, § 6, p. 207). As we have seen, the substantial part of his argument resolves itself into a comparison of the number of occurrences of an "old" infinitive *-dhyai*, and a late infinitive *-taye*. The antiquity of *-dhyai* is undisputed; it therefore deserves notice that of its 75 occurrences (see below, § 358) no less than 16 are in book i. (including two in the Paruccheṣa hymns), and two in x. 61: and lest this or

¹ It is not however shewn that this precedence was recognized at the time at which the hymns were composed.

² See § 21 and note to end of § 22.

any other evidence should be overrated, it should further be noticed that there is an occurrence in one of the very latest hymns, viz. Vāl. 10. 3. Of the 75 occurrences, 69 are at the end of a Triṣṭubh verse : of these 2 are in book viii. (Vāl. 9. 3 ; 86. 14)¹, which is a full proportion for the very small amount of Rik in that book. Of the six occurrences in Sāman all are in books i., viii., ix., x., viz. i. 27. 1 ; 129. 8 ; 134. 2 ; viii. 39. 1 ; ix. 110. 1 ; x. 22. 5, although the other books include a not insignificant amount of Sāman. The occurrences therefore depend on the metre, not on the book or family. Further of the 69 occurrences at the end of Triṣṭubh verses, no less than 44 are in the comparatively small amount of Rik of iambic rhythm, included in period A. This form therefore entirely confirms the arrangement already made. No less does the form in *-taye* do so. This form is almost equally old, for it occurs 264 times in RV., and only 4 times in AV. : and of the 264 occurrences, 200 are in period A. This form too almost always occurs at the end of the verse : and though it is therefore not suited for the early Triṣṭubh hymns, it is quite frequently found in the Sāman of all books. Jagatī hymns, for which this form is also suited, hardly occur before the period B., by which time this form was practically extinct.²

§ 28. Professor Hopkins further discusses³ the date of book viii. of the Rīgveda in vol. xvii. of this Journal. His position is summed up as follows on page 71.

“ When a large body of words is found at the end of a certain literary period, when this body is found continuously employed from the said end of a period to one that is much later, then in the first period any one book that contains a vocabulary identical with that of the books constituting such end of a period will probably belong to the conclusion of the period rather than to its beginning.

If this be so, then the eighth book of the Rīgveda, in its vocabulary, which agrees in so many details with the vocabulary of the later books of that work, with the later Atharvan, and with the still later Brāhmaṇas and Epic. probably stands nearer to the end of the period represented by the whole Rīgveda than to the beginning of that period,” i. e. it is probably later than books ii.-vii.

It will be seen at once that Professor Hopkins accepts the same criterion of late date as that used in this article : viz. the continuous employment of a word in a later period. By the “later books” of the Rīgveda he means the “general books,” i., ix., x. : whereas in my view a considerable part of books i. and ix., and a small part of book x. is early. His conclusion seems diametrically opposed to my own : for I assign a very much larger proportion of book viii. than of books ii.-vii. to the earliest period.

§ 29. I cannot therefore avoid discussing Professor Hopkins’s arguments, both with regard to what he brings forward and to what he passes over. In his article there are examined 600 words which occur in book viii., of which 340 appear nowhere else in

¹ Also of course Vāl. 10. 3, already referred to.

² See below, §§ 358, 365.

³ See above § 8.

the Rigveda, and the remaining 260 only in books i., ix., x. After examining these words individually he finds there are "a few words which may be old: and a large number, any one of which might indeed by chance have escaped repetition: but their sum is momentous and indicative of a close relationship between viii. and the later language."

§ 30. This point I think Professor Hopkins fails to prove. Of the 600 words, there are 150 which occur in viii. only, and for which no parallels elsewhere are adduced: and further, 74 for which the parallels are more or less remote. Next there are 63 which have parallels only in those parts of i. and ix. and (in 7 cases) of x., which are similar in character to book viii., and presumably of the same date. There are therefore almost 300 words of which we must say not only that they "may be old" but that, taken as a whole, they represent an older stratum of language.

Next I find 179 words which recur in the body of book x. or in some later book, but so rarely or with such altered meaning that this recurrence hardly shews late date: and lastly 133 (less than a quarter of the whole) which recur at least 3 times in the latest parts of the RV., the AV., or in later books.

I am unable to attribute any importance to any words except these 133 as shewing late date¹. Few of them occur more than once in book viii.; 18 occurrences are in the few fragments of book viii. which are of periods C₁ C₂, viz. 1. 33, 34; 31. 1-4; 33. 16-19; 47. 14-18; Vāl. 10 and 11; 80; 89. 7-12; 31 belong to the comparatively few hymns assigned to period B. There remain 112 occurrences which are indeed scattered over the bulk of the book, but cannot be said to represent it.

§ 31. I pass to the evidence which Professor Hopkins omits, not however without reference to a typical example (p. 79): "If Grassmann's assumption that *átha* is a late form of *ádha* were correct, then the facts about these words, so far as they go, would make against the view that viii. is not early. But both forms are used in book x., and both *átha* and *ádha* are Avestan. Probably one is as old as the other." The probability however lies otherwise, according to Hopkins's own rule as quoted in § 28. *Adha* occurs 192 times in RV., 16 times in AV., and then disappears: *átha* occurs 133 times in RV., 164 times in AV., and constantly later. Whenever and wherever these words had their beginning, *ádha* undoubtedly was the first to perish, and *átha* replaced it. But book viii. uses *ádha* twice as often as *átha*, that is more frequently (in proportion) than the RV. as a whole, and twenty times as often as the AV. This pair of words therefore alone affords a strong argument for the early date of book viii.²

§ 32. If in place of examining words that occur so rarely that we have no evidence of their date, we choose those which occur

¹ Some of the others may recur as often, for there are no *indices* in existence except for the AV. But the words can hardly be of importance, considering the liberal scale of the references in the PW.

² See below, §§ 449, 451.

with fair frequency, the argument will I think rest on surer grounds. Merely as an example, I have examined those words of which *ádha* and *áttha* may be considered types, viz. the adverbs and pronouns. I find 17 words or groups, each of which occurs at least 40 times in the body of the Rígvēda (AB), being 8 times as often, or, proportionately, 4 times as often, as in the late hymns of the RV. and the AV. ; or 25 times in the former and not at all in the latter. These are *ádha* (used with other particles), *ānuṣák* (with *sānuṣák*), *īm*, *gha*, *tmánā*, *dvitā*, *ná* 'like,' *nákhi*, *nūnám*, *maksá*, *sácā*, *satrá* (with its derivatives), *sim*, *syá*, *tyá*, and the adverbs in *-vat*. I find 23 words and groups which occur at least 20 times in the late hymns of RV. and in AV., being twice as often as in AB, that is, proportionately four times as often: namely *áttha* *u*, *adáh* (pronoun and adverb), *untará* and compounds, *itáh*, *íti*, *ena* (pronoun), *evá*, *tatáh*, *tátra*, *táthā*, *dūrám*, *paráh*, *pára*, *paṣcāt*, *pūnar*, *pṛthak*, *yátra*, *va*, *vaí*, *sárva* 'all,' *sahá* and compounds, *sváhā*, *svid*. These words are representative of a much larger number that might easily be collected from the whole vocabulary (see KZ. xxxiv., pp. 330, 331).

§ 33. In the margin are given the number of occurrences of these words in books ii.-vii. and in book viii. respectively, and also the proportion of later words, viz. the number of later words in every hundred of both kinds taken together: these numbers are also arranged according to the divisions AB, the occurrences in those hymns which are altogether later being omitted from both sides. It appears that the proportion of late words in ii.-vii. and in viii. as a whole is practically the same: in the parts here assigned to B again the same. But in the earlier parts of ii.-vii. it is considerably less than in the earlier parts of viii.

Upon this result it would not be safe to lay too great a stress, as the number of occurrences included is not high. Should it be confirmed by other indications, the necessary conclusion would be, either that the A hymns of ii.-vii. contain earlier hymns than any in viii.,¹ or that in book viii. the later material has not been sufficiently noted in the Tables²: or these two hypotheses may be combined. Any results that may follow upon the further investigation of these points cannot appreciably affect the general arrangement upon which the treatment of the grammar in this article is based.

	Early.	Late.	Proportion.
ii.-vii. A	491	90	15
B	362	168	32
Total	853	258	23
viii. A	304	91	23
B	40	19	32
Total	344	110	24

¹ As such I would suggest the Anuṣṭubh-Pañkti hymns of book v., and the Virāj hymns of book vii.

² As such, the sections 1. 10-12, 20, 34, 58. 82. are suggested to me by the detailed examination of Professor Hopkins's paper.

§ 34. The Sāman poetry of i. 1-50, viii., ix. has not evoked any great interest amongst students of the Veda : many of whom perhaps sympathize with Lanman when he writes "we can hardly say that book ix. is not antique, *despite* its wearisome character."¹ But if it be, as most writers have assumed, a disgrace to a hymn to belong to a late age, some little sympathy must be felt for these poems (assigned in turn to the age of the Brāhmaṇas, to that of the Atharvaveda, and lastly to the end rather than to the beginning of the Rigveda), if after all the only true complaint against them is the incessant repetition in which earnestness is not equalled by artistic sense, and the presence in their company of some few intruders which after all speak with a younger son's voice. And if we are but doing justice to these hymns in attributing to them an antiquity which may be their excuse if not their pride, we are ourselves the gainers. The *dictum* of Bradke² that "the majority of the hymns of the Rigveda do not belong to the period of the rise, or even to that of the perfection of the ancient Indian lyric art, but rather to that of its decay," an opinion accepted by Brunnhofer as "beyond question,"³ will need to be reconsidered: and the more attractive view which Bradke rejects, that the oldest hymns belong to a period not far removed from the time of the first separation of Indians and Iranians, may again seem worthy of attention.

§ 35. That a close relationship exists between book viii. and the Avesta is the opinion of Professor Hopkins : and the evidence by which he supports it extends not only to the Sāman hymns of i., ix., x. (see the notes on *ústra*, *ksīrā*, *gāthā*, *meśā*, *yahú*, *varāhā*), and to the *dānastutis* of book viii. (see on *rajatā*), but also to Rik hymns some of which belong in my view to the earliest period (so *prābhartar* i. 178. 3, *yahú* vii. 15. 11). That the hymns of the Avesta in which these or other words occur are late can hardly be said to be ascertained : on the other hand some stress may be laid upon the existence both in the Avesta and in the Sāman and early Rik of the consecutive vowels *aa*,⁴ afterwards combined as *ā* in accordance with one of the most surely established general tendencies of the language. But whether this special relation be attributed to the position of the respective writers in respect of time or of place, it must be of great importance, if its truth is established, to the understanding of the Rigveda.

§ 36. It remains for me to state the evidence upon which I rest the arrangement of which I have sketched the general principles, and which is based upon the triple argument of vocabulary, flexion, and metre. Of these arguments those of vocabulary and metre have proved the most useful in establishing the

¹ *Noun-Inflection*, p. 580 : the italics are mine.

² *Dyaus Asura*, etc., Halle, 1885, p. 2.

³ *Urgeschichte der Arier*, XIII.

⁴ See Hopkins, JAOS. xvii. 91.

order : but that of flexion will I think be generally accepted as most convincing by way of confirmation. To this argument therefore I would now exclusively direct attention¹, as proving conclusively that, if the hymns included in the lists C₁ C₂² and in the Atharvaveda are on the whole later than the rest of the Rigveda, then the six groups represent generally the product of six successive epochs.

§ 37. It is, I believe, desirable to use as criteria of date only those forms which are used with reasonable frequency: this being provided for, it is impossible to use too many: for the higher the number of occurrences, the less is the possibility of accidental differences in the relative frequency of old and late forms. The precise standards to be adopted are of no importance: but it is of great advantage that some standard should be adhered to, and that the impressions of early and late date should thus have objective confirmation.

§ 38. The standards I have followed are as follows:

(a) Criteria of early date. At least 40 occurrences in A B₁ B₂, being 4 times those in C₁ C₂ and AV.: or 75, being 3 times as many.

(b) Criteria of late date. At least 20 occurrences in C₁ C₂ and AV., being equal in number to those in A, B₁ and B₂, or at least 40, being three-quarters of the number in the earlier groups.

(c) These criteria to be so grouped that about 5000 occurrences are in each case taken into account in reckoning the percentage of later forms.

The amount of matter in A, B₁ and B₂ together is about twice that in the later hymns. The figures and details correspond to those described in the sections of this article named in the margin. The first six groups include forms already made use of in establishing the order: the last three include the remainder of the material afforded by the body of this article.

On the left-hand side of the following pages are reckoned the occurrences of the criteria of early date: on the right-hand side those of the criteria of late date. The percentages which the latter form of the whole in the respective sections and groups are given on page 234 (§ 41).

¹ I include however now under the heading of 'flexion' a large number of words which in the article in KZ. I treated as isolated, but now see to belong to old or late types respectively: and also the pronouns and adverbs, which also belong to the formal part of language, and are almost entirely independent of the subject-matter.

² These hymns are however too few to have much importance in determining the *data*: a comparison between the RV. simply and the AV. would give substantially the same results.

§ 39. i.—FIRST GROUP. SOUNDS AND SANDHI.

§		A	B ₁	B ₂	C ₁	C ₂	AV	§		A	B ₁	B ₂	C ₁	C ₂	AV
61	Gen. pl. <i>-aam</i>	385	42	50	8	10	17	92-95	<i>y v</i> consonant.....	198	97	126	52	43	317
73	Other resolutions of <i>ā</i> , <i>i</i> , <i>ū</i> , etc.	265	48	63	10	8	6	120-122	<i>l</i>	66	79	140	126	110	1100
92-95	Resolution of <i>y v</i> (regular).....	659	364	390	75	45	181	129, 130	Ext. Sandhi <i>i u</i>	25	21	43	34	28	109?
106-109	Resolution of <i>r n</i>	148	52	69	5	4	39	133	" <i>e ai</i>	4	-	7	4	4	16?
126, 127	Hiatus after <i>a ā</i>	362	102	153	27	23	97?	137	Int. Sandhi of <i>i u</i> (pyrrhics).....	7	5	12	2	5	24?
		1819	508	725	125	90	340			300	202	538	218	190	1566

§ 39. ii.—SECOND GROUP. NOUN-ENDINGS USED BY LANMAN.

§		A	B ₁	B ₂	C ₁	C ₂	AV	§		A	B ₁	B ₂	C ₁	C ₂	AV
152	<i>-āśāḥ</i>	492	173	282	89	22	57	148	<i>-au</i>	11	5	12	35	20	320?
155	<i>-ā</i> (neut. pl.).....	610	251	424	110	24	173	152	<i>-āḥ</i>	774	390	600	257	177	1366
156	<i>-ebhāḥ</i>	262	91	157	26	12	43								
		1364	515	863	225	58	272			785	395	612	292	197	1086

§ 39. iii.—THIRD GROUP. OTHER NOUN-ENDINGS AND NOUN-STEMS.

§		A	B ₁	B ₂	C ₁	C ₂	AV	§		A	B ₁	B ₂	C ₁	C ₂	AV
145	instr. masc. neut. <i>-ā</i>	68	16	33	5	2	9	145	instr. m. n. <i>-ēna</i>	195	106	198	74	64	579
146	" fem. " homophonous	108	36	67	14	4	8	181	" fem. <i>-iā</i> , <i>-yā</i>	23	7	11	6	3	41
180	" <i>-uā</i> , <i>-vā</i>	46	13	14	5	-	8	198	forms in <i>-yai</i> , etc.	85	63	121	30	39	406
181	" fem. s. <i>-ī</i> , <i>-i</i>	76	21	30	6	-	2								
184-186	cases in <i>-yāḥ</i> , <i>-vāḥ</i>	126	45	62	12	4	3								
187	locative in <i>-ā</i>	49	15	37	4	-	1								
250	<i>-an</i> : n. a. pl. <i>-ā</i> , <i>-a</i>	53	23	35	2	1	8	290	transition <i>ac</i> -to <i>ca</i> -.....	12	3	12	7	9	42
265	vocative <i>-vāḥ</i> , <i>-mah</i>	105	20	32	4	-	-	"	others to <i>a</i> -.....	5	5	7	11	9	72
266	<i>maghāvant</i> , mid. cases.....	17	2	7	-	-	7								
288	Vedic root-stems.....	214	66	86	13	7	19								
289	forms of <i>māh</i>	129	42	56	3	1	8								
"	" <i>māhā</i>	21	5	14	2	-	-								
304	participials in <i>-atā</i>	60	31	41	6	-	9	298	<i>-anta</i>	-	-	1	-	3	23
								302	<i>tāvat</i> , etc.	9	1	9	2	5	58
		1072	335	514	76	19	74			329	185	359	130	132	1221

§ 39. iv.—FOURTH GROUP. VERBAL FLEXION.

§		A	B ₁	B ₂	C ₁	C ₂	AV	§		A	B ₁	B ₂	C ₁	C ₂	AV
319	Endings with <i>r</i>	56	24	16	7	2	4	317	1 pl. <i>-mah</i>	16	2	6	5	4	75
320	Subjunctive <i>-ā e-māhe</i>	39	14	18	3	1	1	320	Subj. <i>-āni, -ai, -vāhai, -mahai</i>	14	1	9	26	8	21
326	Impv. in <i>-si</i>	73	32	50	1	--	7								
326	Impv. in <i>-spa, -dhvam</i> , corresponding to <i>-si</i>	36	9	8	1	--	--								
333	Strong stem in 2 pl., etc.	91	34	41	21	3	11	337, 338,							
337, 338, 339, 340, 410, 411	Unaugmented impf.	221	140	169	22	5	15	409	Augmented impf.	320	297	759	255	177	742
345	“ plqpf. and aorist	205	115	137	15	2	19								
350	Redupl. with <i>ā ī ā</i>	165	67	100	21	4	42								
356	Participles, no redupl.	130	24	35	6	4	8								
357	Infinitives in <i>-e, -am, -ah, -i</i>	108	41	87	12	8	21	363	Absolutives	27	20	63	29	28	231
358	“ <i>-se, -ase</i>	47	17	27	2	8	14								
“	“ <i>-taye, -tyai, -aye</i>	205	25	57	7	1	5								
“	“ <i>-dhyaī</i>	49	17	8	--	1	--								
359	“ <i>-vane, -mane, -sani</i>	34	3	9	2	2	--								
		1459	562	762	120	41	147			377	320	837	315	217	1069

§ 39. v.—FIFTH GROUP. CONJUGATIONAL STEMS.

§		A	B ₁	B ₂	C ₁	C ₂	AV	§		A	B ₁	B ₂	C ₁	C ₂	AV
386	<i>ī</i> in <i>īmahe</i>	57	7	22	1	1	3	386	<i>kṛnū-</i>	125	83	130	51	23	185
“	<i>siṣac, sāce-</i>	20	10	10	1	1	--	“	<i>kṛnū-</i>	--	--	--	--	2	32
401	Aorist participles	169	75	62	9	6	6	“	<i>muñed-</i>	3	5	20	3	8	104
								“	<i>vindā-</i>	15	14	18	12	9	20
								“	<i>vārta-</i>	7	2	8	8	9	21
								“	<i>hvāya-</i>	9	6	22	3	2	36
426	Denominatives	273	127	190	44	23	117	393	<i>mā</i> with impr. subj.	127	35	82	33	41	276
427	Nouns in <i>-gu, -yā</i>	217	71	91	13	4	58	419	<i>-ī</i> thematic	27	12	33	42	39	82
								422	future	13	5	13	10	5	69
		736	290	375	68	35	184			326	162	326	162	138	825

§ 39. vi.—SIXTH GROUP. PRONOUNS, ADVERBS, AND PARTICLES.

§		A	B ₁	B ₂	C ₁	C ₂	AV	§		A	B ₁	B ₂	C ₁	C ₂	AV
433	<i>syá, tyá</i>	112	38	44	4	3	2	433	<i>ena</i>	22	14	19	15	20	202
								"	<i>etád (form)</i>	6	6	4	13	3	57
								"	<i>adás</i>	11	6	12	9	14	137
								434	<i>sárva 'all'</i>	7	3	5	7	18	447
								"	<i>bahú</i>	4	7	6	13	6	35
								436	<i>áthara, etc.</i>	4	-	10	5	9	57
								"	<i>úttara</i>	27	1	22	17	15	96
								"	<i>paramá</i>	15	18	26	12	4	59
439	<i>cid</i>	329	100	145	38	21	16	"	<i>prathamá</i>	30	42	67	29	13	82
"	<i>im, sin</i>	95	54	91	20	2	2	439	<i>svid</i>	9	4	9	16	5	13
440	<i>tmánā</i>	35	7	16	2	-	1	"	<i>sāyam</i>	1	1	-	-	2	19
"	<i>sacā</i>	57	10	16	3	-	-	440	<i>uccāh, etc.</i>	2	1	3	4	1	17
"	<i>donā, bahūā</i>	20	8	3	-	-	-	"	<i>kikārd, etc.</i>	6	3	11	5	1	76
443	<i>mākṣā</i>	25	7	-	-	-	-	441	<i>adhāstāt, etc.</i>	8	2	17	7	6	35
								446	Adverbs in - <i>taḥ</i>	84	34	71	39	43	251
								448	<i>sahá</i>	14	7	17	5	17	118
449	<i>itlhd</i>	44	7	12	2	2	4	449	<i>átha, átha u</i>	28	20	37	23	25	166
"	<i>ádha</i>	107	22	48	10	5	16	"	<i>táthā</i>	7	-	2	2	3	36
453	Adverbs in - <i>vat</i>	41	11	15	-	1	3	449	<i>(t)va</i>	8	3	6	11	7	91
456	<i>tū</i>	34	11	3	2	-	2	"	<i>vai</i>	8	2	5	5	6	112
									<i>evá</i>	41	34	42	16	17	237
									<i>evam</i>	-	-	-	-	1	66
									<i>ití</i>	16	7	11	9	9	85
		899	275	393	81	34	46			358	215	402	263	245	2494

§ 39. vii.—SEVENTH GROUP. SOUNDS, SANDHI, NOUN-FLEXION AND -STEMS, VERB-FLEXION.

§	A	B ₁	B ₂	C ₁	C ₂	AV	§	A	B ₁	B ₂	C ₁	C ₂	AV	
111	<i>ī lh</i>	225	74	144	40	23	78	Exceptional consonantal val-	27	18	24	12	21	244
135	Internal hiatus: <i>a</i> -, <i>ā</i> -	49	3	9	1	1	1	ues of <i>y v</i>	11	13	18	9	1	41
137	" <i>i</i> -, <i>u</i> - (end of pyr-	41	8	15	9	3	2	Form <i>dyath</i> (<i>y</i> cons.)	49	23	45	16	25	160
	rhics)							- <i>bhya</i> after heavy syll.	7	3	18	4	3	73
								- <i>gam</i> loc. f. s.	23	9	21	3	7	139
								<i>ṇ</i> (six exceptions)	21	7	15	5	3	33
								<i>ṣ</i>	7	1	8	5	6	40
								<i>t</i> , <i>ṇt</i>	16	4	21	16	14	125
								<i>ā</i> , <i>ṇā</i>	9	4	5	5	8	57
								<i>ṣt</i> , <i>ṣṭh</i>	26	13	22	10	13	422
								External Sandhi: <i>ah a</i>						
								Internal Sandhi: <i>su</i> with						
								dissimilar vowel	1	2	1	1	1	18
169	- <i>ā</i> - <i>ā</i> stems: radical forms	201	98	136	42	20	69	- <i>ā</i> , - <i>ā</i> stems: suffixal forms	8	5	13	2	39	
190	plural <i>ī</i> (inc. <i>trī</i>)	21	14	13	1	1	7	fem. forms - <i>gyai</i> , etc.	24	19	37	8	16	167
202	polysyll. masc. - <i>i</i> stems	38	17	24	5	1	4	polys. fem. - <i>i</i> stems	38	18	42	24	10	68
208	" fem. - <i>ā</i> stems	16	13	13	1	2	6	- <i>divam</i>	8	2	5	3	3	59
222	<i>divē-divē</i>	20	8	15	1	1	1	- <i>man</i> , - <i>van</i> , - <i>an</i> stems: syn-	25	5	30	13	11	84
236	<i>uśāsam</i> , etc.	12	10	21	2	2	2	copated forms	5	5	6	7	1	69
249	loc. sing. - <i>am</i>	73	37	61	17	8	28	loc. <i>māyi</i> , etc.	15	5	13	3	100	
274	loc. <i>tuē</i> , etc.	129	46	78	16	3	1	<i>sā</i> with hiatus	6	3	5	5	2	37
275	dat. <i>tūhya</i> , etc.	31	14	15	1	1	1	- <i>tāsmān</i>	4	4	2	3	4	44
276	dual <i>yuvōh</i>	16	3	17	1	1	1	<i>kim</i>	89	47	109	37	45	189
281	form <i>egā</i>	47	13	4	2	1	1	stems in - <i>ka</i> (some exc.)	22	7	16	6	9	35
283	<i>nākih</i>	27	10	11	2	1	1	" in - <i>vari</i> , etc. (fem.)	4	1	10	1	6	18
296	<i>asmāka</i> , <i>guṣmāka</i>	20	5	12	1	1	1	impv. in - <i>āt</i>	5	1	3	1	5	16
300	neuters in - <i>aman</i>	11	4	12	1	1	1	impv. <i>edhi</i>	9	1	3	1	4	36
302	<i>tvānat</i> , etc.	19	6	7	1	1	1	impv. <i>-hi</i> omitted (in certain cases)						
306	stems in - <i>asī</i>	24	8	12	1	1	1							
318	2 pl. - <i>thana</i> , - <i>tana</i> ,	52	27	44	20	9	13							
321	Subj. in - <i>se -te</i>	43	10	27	13	3	3							
329	impv. - <i>hi</i> (some cases)	21	7	19	1	1	1							
343	augment <i>ā</i>	14	13	24	5	2	1							
344	red. <i>didā</i> , etc.	44	17	27	8	5	13							
364	gerundives in - <i>enā</i> , - <i>eyā</i> , etc.	61	16	26	2	2	6							
		1255	431	786	188	86	239		462	226	510	215	223	1990

§ 39. viii.—EIGHTH GROUP. CONJUGATIONAL STEMS.

§		A	B ₁	B ₂	C ₁	C ₂	AV	§		A	B ₁	B ₂	C ₁	C ₂	AV
377	Vedic root-stems.....	230	66	127	30	14	31	372	Passives: <i>yá</i> -stems	112	69	79	28	22	265
386	stem <i>tyar</i> -.....	16	11	14	2	1	1	382	- <i>cha</i> class.....	123	38	121	44	41	218
"	" <i>bhāra</i> -(simple verb)-..	32	20	28	5	2	11	384	- <i>ya</i> class (incl. pass.).....	259	129	270	93	95	468
"	" <i>huvá</i> -.....	26	11	14	5	-	1	386	stem <i>i</i> -.....	201	102	191	109	69	466
"	" <i>hava</i>	103	13	39	2	5	14	"	" <i>grhā</i> -.....	-	-	-	1	-	44
393	Improper subjunctive.....	341	104	149	38	16	68	"	" <i>bibhar</i> -.....	31	14	41	17	5	72
401	Aorist middle: subj., opt., impv.....	120	36	42	7	4	16	"	" <i>mānya</i> -.....	20	14	17	5	5	38
402	Aorist middle: auctd.....	218	61	87	24	17	36	"	" <i>hān</i> -.....	75	34	44	12	15	104
"	" passive: auctd.....	68	28	42	2	2	3	421	Desideratives (six excepted).....	31	11	36	7	15	44
413	Moods of the perfect.....	103	37	68	22	4	18	423	Causatives proper.....	177	127	183	39	66	351
416	Middle intensive.....	45	25	43	9	6	11	425	Causatives in <i>p</i> (incl. aor.).....	4	5	9	8	5	46
426	Denominative participles.....	143	83	100	20	8	46								
		1445	495	753	166	79	256			1033	543	991	363	338	2116

§ 39. ix.—NINTH GROUP. PRONOUNS, ADVERBS, AND PARTICLES.

§		A	B ₁	B ₂	C ₁	C ₂	AV	§		A	B ₁	B ₂	C ₁	C ₂	AV
436	<i>ūpara, upamā.</i> -----	23	12	19	5	1	5	433	<i>eṣā</i> -----	10	10	15	7	11	60
								435	<i>katardā, etc.</i> -----	6	1	6	3	8	49
								436	<i>āpara</i> -----	8	3	15	2	3	30
								"	"-----	10	8	14	12	2	18
439	<i>id</i> -----	338	89	207	90	25	76	439	<i>diara</i> -----	3	1	2	2	2	16
"	<i>nūnām</i> -----	65	16	18	7	2	2	"	<i>diarām</i> -----	11	6	7	11	6	32
447	Adverbs in <i>-trā</i> (incl. <i>satrā</i>)	73	17	27	8	4	6	"	<i>pārāh</i> -----	19	7	31	15	31	71
450	<i>sādā</i> and compounds-----	42	5	10	--	--	8	"	<i>pīnar</i> -----	4	1	5	4	--	17
								"	<i>prithak</i> -----	--	--	--	--	--	14
								440	<i>bahūh</i> -----	6	3	6	4	3	35
								"	<i>amā, etc.</i> -----	12	4	4	3	2	15
								"	<i>divā</i> -----	21	10	18	6	13	107
								441	<i>pārā</i> -----	10	2	3	4	8	44
								447	<i>adharāt, etc.</i> -----	62	37	80	44	47	152
								448	adverbs in <i>-trā, -tra</i>	97	33	73	33	26	200
								449	<i>ihā</i> -----	113	31	44	15	28	181
455	<i>sū</i> -----	120	23	53	24	6	14	450	<i>yāthā</i> -----	33	14	13	4	10	55
456	<i>gha</i> -----	40	7	15	10	--	3	452	adverbs in <i>-cāh</i> -----	6	--	6	6	--	14
"	<i>sma</i> -----	62	11	21	7	6	13	458	<i>āpi</i> -----	33	9	28	20	14	77
457	<i>nā, 'as'</i> -----	628	216	321	33	9	18								
458	<i>dēha</i> -----	52	23	24	5	1	14								
		1443	419	715	189	54	159								
								464		180	370	195	214	1187	

§ 40. Of these nine groups the first six represent the criteria used in establishing the arrangement :¹ they include over 30,000 occurrences, and the table that follows (§ 41) indicates that the same conclusions can be drawn from the whole or from any sufficient part : that is, the evidence is consistent. If we confine our attention to single forms, or to small groups of them, this consistency will not in all cases be found : but the explanation of this is to be found in the history of such individual forms, and not in any different arrangement of the material of the Rigveda. Having the evidence of the main current of linguistic change, the eddies must be studied in subordination to it.

The three last groups² represent entirely new material. They include over 20,000 occurrences, in which change is perhaps of a less striking character than in those previously collected, and which perhaps have a greater evidential value for that reason.³ This evidence is not only absolutely in the same direction as that of the other groups, but also fully as clear and distinct, and cannot lightly be set aside.

§ 41. The following table shews, first the number of occurrences of all the forms, early and late, included under each of the nine groups just described : secondly, the number of late forms in each section of the Rigveda in every hundred forms of both kinds. Thus the figure 25 denotes that in every hundred forms 75 are early, 25 late.

GRAMMATICAL EVIDENCE OF DATE.

Group.		Old Criteria.						New Criteria.			Total.
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	
Number of occurrences		6400	7250	4450	6225	3625	5700	6650	8600	5600	54,500
Proportion of later forms in	A	14	36	23	21	31	28	26	42	25	28
	B ₁	29	44	35	37	36	44	32	52	30	39
	B ₂	30	[41]	41	53	47	50	39	57	34	44
	C ₁	64	56	63	73	70	74	53	69	51	63
	C ₂	68	77	87	84	80	88	72	81	80	79
	AV.	83	86	94	88	82	98	90	88	88	89

§ 42. In this table there appears only one discrepancy, viz., as to the relative date suggested for the periods B₁ B₂ by the criteria first used by Lanman. As these criteria are of special interest, they will repay further investigation : although as evidence the indications they give cannot in this point weigh against the much greater and more complex mass of evidence which points in the

¹ Many of them only in part.

² With trivial exceptions due to a difference of classification.

³ So Hopkins, JAOS. xvii., p. 26, note 3.

other direction. I therefore give the full details as to the relative growth of the later form in each of the four pairs.¹

§43. Form *-au*. This is so rare² in A B₁ B₂ that the precise number of occurrences is of little importance. 5 are found in B₁, 12 in B₂, so that in proportion to the amount of matter these forms are more common in B₂.

§44. Forms *-āh*, *-āni*. These forms are practically about equally common in B₁ and B₂.

Period.	<i>-au</i>	<i>-āh</i>	<i>-āni</i>	<i>-aiḥ</i>
A	1	62	32	54
B ₁	1	[70]	36	[61]
B ₂	2	69	38	[52]
C ₁	23	75	43	61
C ₂	29	89	51	68
AV	60	95	63	84

§45. Form in *-aiḥ*. This is least common in B₂, and equally common in B₁ and C₁. Its progress is clearly no indication of date till we reach the period C₂. In other words, both in B₂ and C₁ the form *-ebhiḥ* is found in almost half the occurrences, and more often in B₂ than in A, and in C₁ as often as in B₁. This result is the more striking because *-ebhiḥ* is favoured by the Tristubh metre, which is almost exclusively used in B₁.³ Professor Hopkins (p. 26) suggests that "the strongly marked forms continue to be used for show." This is in itself by no means improbable, but it is not easy to form a consistent theory upon this basis. If the poets of C₁ desired archaic effect, why did they admit the striking neoterism of the dual in *-au* so frequently, and why does the neuter in *-āni* continue to spread? The unaugmented past tenses are perhaps the most obvious of all archaisms: yet the poets both of B₂ and C₁ leave them little used.⁴ The facts seem rather to point to another explanation. The decadent form becomes for a time more common, if it is the longer form. The lengthened forms *-au*, *-āni*, and the augmented past tenses shew an uninterrupted progress: the forms *-āh*, *-aiḥ* which are shorter than their rivals, suffer a temporary set-back. In short the general tendency towards the lengthening of flexional forms, of which ample evidence will be given in the body of this article, outweighed for a time the special tendencies of the cases in question.

§46. All historical investigation of grammar sets up as its ideal the ascertainment of the earliest forms. The words 'early' and 'late' are used by students of the Rīgveda in a sense which may easily lead to misapprehension. For instance, the forms in *-au* and *-āni* are, as we have every reason to suppose, later variations upon an earlier *-ā* in each case: for in the earliest hymns we find the 'late' form rare or comparatively rare, and its growth is continuous. But as to the forms *-āh*, *-aiḥ* we have no such assurance. There is nowhere any body of hymns in which these forms are not more common than their rivals: and it is per-

¹ These are taken from KZ. xxxiv., pp. 304, 335.

² Occurrences of *āv* before vowels, which are regular throughout the RV., are not taken into account.

³ This would lead us also to expect to find *-āsaḥ* most often in B₁, which again is not the case.

⁴ See below §§ 337-340, 409-411.

fectly possible and by no means unlikely that these forms are respectively as old as or older than the rivals which have failed to destroy them. In the struggle for existence as found in language it is not always the more youthful competitor that wins, nor does every chance variation lead to a new development. In such cases as these the term "late" refers only to a limited period, and means that towards the end of the period of the Rigveda the rival form was yielding ground, and beginning to be regarded as an archaism as compared with the other. It is a principal part of the purpose of the main part of this article to fix the limits within which such changes are at work.

§ 47. The difficulty of distinguishing permanent tendencies from temporary variations has made necessary the extensive range of this article, and has imposed upon it corresponding limitations in accuracy and fulness of detail. It leaves the ground open for special investigations into the separate phenomena that are referred to: and in abstaining from any division according to date of the whole earlier half of the Rigveda, it by no means implies that such division may not yet be made: nor does it exclude the hypothesis that in books ii.-vii. there may be a nucleus of the most ancient verse of all.¹ Nor again, does the treatment of the AV. as a whole exclude a distinction of earlier and later hymns within its limits: but on the contrary the path is pointed out along which such discrimination can be made. I seek to give an outline map of the country which borders on either side the straits that separate the Vedas of Rik and Atharvan, and I hope to make the exploration of the regions beyond more easy to those that follow. That this outline map will itself come to need correction in many points goes without saying.

§ 48. I reserve to the end of this article a short general review of the linguistic development of the Rigveda, as brought to light by this investigation.

§ 49. Acknowledgment. It will be obvious throughout that I have built upon the work of others. I have endeavoured not to repeat information given elsewhere, unless it needed to be supplemented or existed only in a scattered form.

§ 50. Lastly, I wish to express my special sense of gratitude to the American Oriental Society for undertaking the publication of an article of a kind that cannot be of general interest. In so doing it is pursuing a path it has chosen for many years past, and one along which lies the hope of progress for the future.

¹ See above, § 33.

HISTORICAL VEDIC GRAMMAR.

§ 51. The principal developments of Sanskrit grammar are known to us through Vedic literature in the wider sense, the succession of Rigveda, Atharvaveda, Brāhmaṇas, Sūtras and Upaniṣads, as leading up to epic and classical literature. They are treated historically in Whitney's Grammar, and with the assistance of figures by which change is numerically valued.

§ 52. The present article endeavours to carry back this history some stages further. We have no absolute standard of date distinguishing the earlier and later part of the Rigveda: but it has been put forward in the Introduction to this Article that we have a large body of harmonious evidence in favour of a certain arrangement of those parts: and chiefly that such an arrangement gives a history of grammar which naturally leads up to the history we know already. It remains to ascertain how far the detailed consideration of grammatical points harmonizes with this general view.

§ 53. The literary periods of the Rig and Atharvavedas mentioned in the Introduction will now be referred to shortly as A, B₁, B₂, C₁, C₂, AV. The symbol B will be used for the periods B₁ and B₂ taken together: and C for the periods C₁, C₂ and AV. taken together. It would not yet be safe to say that there is a greater interval of time between the periods A and B₁ than there is between B₁ and B₂, or between B₂ and C₁ than between the later periods. But for our present purpose a division into a smaller number of periods than six is urgently necessary. In many grammatical details the whole number of occurrences is so small that it is impossible to attach any importance to the number found in one of the shorter periods. In all cases it is difficult to make numerical comparisons where the amounts of matter from which instances are drawn vary considerably. By fixing our attention in the main upon three larger periods A-B-C, in which the amount of matter is approximately equal, we shall in most cases see at once from the number of occurrences in which direction the trend of the language lies. The more detailed information will be given in the tables.

CHAPTER I. SOUNDS AND SANDHI. §§ 54-144.

§ 54. Under this heading are included all points in which there is a difference of pronunciation between Vedic and classical Sanskrit. Sometimes this difference is expressed by a change of symbol : more often it is to be inferred from the metre.

§ 55. The question at once arises whether we have a sufficient knowledge of the metre to say positively what pronunciation it requires : whether the number of syllables in each verse is positively fixed, and how often the distinctions of quantity are of importance. To this question only a provisional answer can be given.

§ 56. Catalectic verses of the Gāyatrī or Anuṣṭubh type, that is to say, verses of seven syllables, are probably to be found in the Rīgveda. As, however, comparatively few rules of resolution convert the great mass of those verses which at first sight seem to have only seven syllables into complete lines of eight, we are justified in using such rules as far as they will carry us. In isolated cases we are not justified in positing a pronunciation which is contrary to that found elsewhere for the same word or ending.

§ 57. In verses of the Trīṣṭubh-Jagatī type, and especially in those included in A, there are many instances in which only ten syllables appear : the missing syllable being one that immediately precedes or follows the caesura. In these cases it is not usually possible to restore the missing syllable by the use of general rules : and the variation seems therefore to be metrical. In some instances, however, restoration is sufficiently probable upon lines suggested by verses of the Gāyatrī-Anuṣṭubh type.

§ 58. All the Vedic metres shew a well-marked rhythm, or succession of short and long syllables, running through the whole verse. Only in the case of the first and third syllable in each verse is the quantity indifferent. There are two or three types in each of the standard metres, and deviations from these types are permitted to a limited extent : but on the whole the rhythm gives us abundant evidence of the quantity of all syllables, and quite independently of the record of the Pada and Sanhita texts, though generally in agreement with the latter. For this reason all references to the Rīgveda are made to the Sanhita text only.

§ 59. We proceed to consider first vowel-values, in which are included the "resolutions" of the vowels *ā ī ū*, and the vowel values frequently to be given to *y v r n* : and next the occurrences of certain consonants, notably *ḷ ḡ ḥ ḷ* and the linguals *ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh ṇ ṣ*.

A. i. Resolved vowel-values.

§ 60. That the disyllabic values of *ā ī ū*, etc., are not to any appreciable extent due to metre is shewn by their appearance in

certain parts only of the word-system: for these resolutions, parallels are often to be found in the Avestan Gāthās.¹

§ 61. In the gen. pl. of all declensions *ā* is frequently to be read as *aa*. This form, which we need not doubt to be the earlier one, is favoured by a metre in which verses of 8 or 12 syllables prevail, and therefore might be expected more often in A than in B or C, though not in so large a ratio as actually appears. It is not rightly explained away by a theory of catalectic verses, and there are a sufficient number of occurrences which are not at the end of the verse at all. The decay of this form is most marked in B₂, in which period occurrences are much more favoured by the metre than in B₁, and yet are relatively much rarer.²

§ 62. The resolution of *ā* elsewhere than in the gen. pl. is by no means uncommon up to the end of period B. That of *i* or *ū* is less common. It is hard to trace phenomena of this type in AV., owing to the prevalent disorder in the metre: but the occurrences, if any, must be very few. Resolutions at the end of the first part of a compound are treated below: see 'internal Sandhi,' §§ 135-140.

§ 63. In the declension of nouns resolution of *ā* occurs frequently in the case of stems in radical *-ā* *-a*, in the nom. acc. m. f. of all numbers. The antiquity of the formation is shewn by the absence of resolution in acc. fem. pl. of *-ā* nouns. Instances are collected from Grassmann by Lanman, pp. 443, 446, 449-452, to which add *giriṣṭhāh* (nom.) ix. 18. 1. I quote the stems only: *kṣā* 5, *rbhukṣā*: *gnā* 7: *jā*, *jāspāti*, *abjā*, *navajā*: *ṛtajā*: *dravinodā* 2 (*vasudā* 2 in AV.): *gopā* 3 (and AV. 1), *indragopā*, *devāgopā*, *sugopā* 2, *tanūpā* 2, *paçupā*: *kakṣiaprā* 2, *rathaprā*: *evayā*: *kṣetrāṣā*: *giriṣṭhā* 5, *patheṣṭhā*, *pariṣṭhā*, *rathesṭhā*: in all, 43 exx. in RV.; 3 in AV.²

§ 64. Also in the conjugation of verbs in radical *-ā*: *gaat* (*gā* 'go'): *daam daaḥ* 2, *daat* 2 (*dā* 'give'): *dhaaḥ* (vi. 19. 10), *dhaama* (*dhā* 'put'): *paanti* 7, *paat*, *paantu*, *paántam* 4 (1 *pā* 'protect'): *paah*, *paántam* (2 *pā* 'drink'): *praah*: *bhaasi*, *bhaanti*: *asthaat* 4: 30 exx., of which 25 are in period A.²

§ 65. Also in radical syllables before *s*, often perhaps from a primitive *-as* suffix: *kāasṭhā* 2; *dāasvat* 7, *sudāḥ* 5: *daasá* 3, *dāasa* 9, *daivodaasa*: *dhaasi*: *nāasatyā* 61, *indranaasatyā*: *paastiā* (iv. 21. 6): *bhāḥ* 5, *bhāasvat* 3: *raaspinā*, *raaspirā*: 101 exx., all in A or B.²

§ 66. Many other possible resolutions are suggested or referred to by Lanman (*passim*), Grassmann, and Oldenberg (pp. 163-190). Before accepting these as even probable it is specially necessary to consider (i.) whether the metrical difficulty can be met by any other resolution; (ii.) whether the irregularity may not be due to the presence of decasyllabic Triṣṭubh verses or other metrical variants; (iii.) whether the metre of the hymn in question is not generally disordered. The resolution of the vowel can only be considered as a reasonable explanation where

¹ Hopkins, p. 91.

² See Table § 73.

such resolution is suggested in some fair proportion of the total number of occurrences of the root or other element in question, or is supported by analogy or other evidence: and for this reason cannot be accepted as probable in the gen. sing. in *-sya*, instr. sing. in *-ā*, in any part of the *-ā* declension,¹ in the participial suffix *-āna*, or in the particles *ā*, *mā*, *vā*. In the following cases it seems to me probable: *daaṣvāḥ* 3, *dadāaṣūḥ*, *duandokah*, *vāata* 'wind' 10¹, *vāar* 'water' 3, *vāar* 'protector'; *gāam* (or *gāvam*) acc. s. 6, *gāah* (or *gāvah*) nom. pl.; *dyāam* (or *dyāvam*) 5, *AV*. 1?; *pānthaaḥ* 3, *pānthaaḥ*: *māām* 'me' 10, *vāām* 'you' 9: *Akṣaaḥ* (aorist of *kṣar*) 4: in all, 58 exx., of which 39 are in *A*. No examples are noted in *AV*. by Whitney to my knowledge, but there is one doubtful case as above.²

§ 67. The abl. sing. in *-āt* appears to be resolved in six cases, all neuters (Lanman, pp. 337, 8). Two of these are from root-nouns, *antāriḥkṣa*, *sadhāstha*. But in no other point do the neuter root-nouns differ in declension from derivative nouns in *-a*. This resolution is therefore not established. See also §§ 166, 172.

§ 68. Resolution of *i* appears only in *kiistā* 'poet' 2: *siirā* 'stream' 2: it is possible also in *virā* 'man' 2 (vi. 21. 6, 8), *viria* 'heroic deed' (i. 61. 14). All the exx. are in *A*: those given by Oldenberg, p. 187, for *gīḥ*, *gīrbhīḥ*, *gīrvāhaḥ* seem very doubtful.²

§ 69. Resolution of *ū* in root-syllables is more common: we note *duurā* (*davarā*) 'distant' 2, iv. 20. 1; x. 108. 11; *nūu* (not two words, as Grassmann) i. 64. 15; iv. 16. 21; v. 10. 6; v. 16. 5; v. 17. 5; v. 52. 15; v. 74. 6; vi. 68. 8; vii. 62. 6; vii. 93. 6; vii. 100. 1, giving 11 certain examples: *nūutana*: *puūḥ* 'stronghold' i. 189. 2; vii. 15. 14; *puurbhīḥ*, i. 58. 8; *puusan* 2, *puusā*: *bhuut* 4, i. 77. 3; 173. 8; iv. 43. 4; x. 48. 9; *bhuutā*: *bhuutu*, i. 94. 12; *śūura* 3: *śuūśā*: *śūura* i. 71. 9; 122. 15; 149. 3; vi. 51. 2; ix. 111. 1; in all, 35 exx., of which 28 are in *A*³. In *sūria*, *spūrdhān* resolution is doubtful⁴: for *suuktā*, etc., see below under internal Sandhi, § 136.

§ 70. The symbol *e* frequently represents two syllables in superlatives: *jyēstha* 21, *dēstha*, *dhēstha* 3, *prēstha* 13, *yēstha* 3, and *grēstha* 9: in these cases the combination *ayi* fairly suggests the probable pronunciation. A similar resolution seems certain in *tredhā* 9 (and *AV*. 2), *deśnā* 5, *grēni* 6 (always) and *grēnidan*, *grēniḡāḥ* 2: and probable in the following cases: *deyām* (*dā-iyām*), *devā* v. 50. 2; vii. 46. 1; 66. 2; *dheyām* 2, *nēsam* x. 61. 4; *nēsi* i. 129. 5; *netār* 4, *netrī* 2, *ānetār*, *pranetār* 3 (adding viii. 19. 37), *mādema* vi. 4. 8; 10. 7 and frequently in refrains, *rēknaḥ* vii. 40. 2; viii. 46. 15⁵; *vēḥ* i. 77. 2; *vēḥ* i. 130. 3; vi. 48. 17.⁶ Two-thirds of the instances are in period *A*.

¹ To Oldenberg's instances, p. 173, add i. 175. 4(?) ² See Table § 73.

³ Doubtful are i. 120. 2; vii. 7. 7.

⁴ See below § 106.

⁵ But see below § 109.

⁶ More doubtful are *taret* vi. 68. 5; *te* (*tāva*) i. 173. 12; *dhūrtēḥ* i. 128. 7 bis; *sādhreḥ* v. 44. 10; *huvema* i. 127. 2.

⁷ See, however, § 154.

§ 71. Resolution of *o* is probable in some cases, but is rare : *ómātrā*, *kṣonī* 2, *góh* 3, *maghónah* gen. sing. 2, *maghónoḥ* gen. du., *maghónīh* nom. pl. fem. vi. 65. 3.¹

§ 72. Resolution of *ai*, *au*, *ī* is probable as follows : *asmai* iii. 13. 1 ; v. 33. 1 ; viii. 2. 41 ; 31. 2 ; *auṣāná* x. 30. 9 : *kṣṇaumi* x. 23. 2 : *naūh* v. 59. 2 : *ástarut* x. 105. 11 *bis* and *stauná* vi. 66. 5 : *nī'n* 2. See also § 156.

§ 73. Table shewing instances of resolution of *ā ī ū*, etc.

Refer to §		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
	Resolution of <i>ā</i> :-----								
61	Genitive plural - <i>aam</i> -----	385	42	50	92	8	10	17	35
63	Nouns in radical - <i>ā</i> (<i>a</i>)-----	28	5	9	14	--	1	3	4
64	Verbs in radical - <i>ā</i> -----	25	3	2	5	--	--	--	0
65	Radical syllables before - <i>s</i> -----	63	12	26	38	--	--	--	0
66	Other instances-----	39	9	4	13	1	5	1	7
68	Resolution of <i>ī</i> :-----	7	--	--	0	--	--	--	0
69	Resolution of <i>ū</i> :-----	28	3	3	6	1	--	--	1
70	Resolution of <i>e</i> :-----	63	11	15	26	7	2	2	11
71	Resolution of <i>o</i> :-----	7	2	--	2	1	--	--	1
72	Resolution of <i>ai</i> , <i>au</i> , <i>ī</i> -----	5	3	4	7	--	--	--	0
	All, except gen. pl.	265	48	63	111	10	8	6	24

§ 74. Many final vowels regularly short in classical Sanskrit are frequently long in RV., and are so written in the Sanhita. That the lengthening is not purely metrical has been clearly shewn by Oldenberg, *Prol.* pp. 393-423 : we have therefore to deal with the shortening of vowels originally long. The quantity of the vowel seems however to be much influenced by metrical position. Benfey's collections in the *Abhandlungen der kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Band xix. (1874) to Band xxvii. (1881), are not at present accessible to me : and I know of no similar collection for the Atharvaveda. So far as my own investigations have gone, it appears that the variant long vowel is found in all parts of the Rigveda. There is a similar "lengthening" at the end of the prior elements in compounds.

A. ii. Resolution of *y* and *v*.

§ 75. The native grammarians give a general permission to reckon *y* *v* as vocalic (in which cases we may conveniently write either *i* *u*, or conformably to the laws of classical Sanskrit *iy* *uv*), wherever the metre so requires. In reality this option exists only in a limited number of words and forms : it is far more common with *y* than with *v*, and is perhaps also found with *r* *n* from time to time : and it is rapidly dying out in the Vedic period. The general conditions have been laid down by A. H. Edgren (JAOS. xi. 1885).

¹ See Table § 73. More doubtful are *kṣódaḥ* vi. 17. 12 ; *yódhīyas*, i. 173. 5 ; *stōma* ii. 11. 3 ; vi. 24. 7 ; Vāl. 4. 4 ; *stoṣam* i. 187. 1.

§ 76. Comparing Vedic with classical Sanskrit, it appears that in the earlier language vocalic *y v* (*iy, uv*) were found in many cases where the later language has the consonantal value. We may reasonably suppose the vocalic value to be primitive wherever it prevails in the earliest period. Where it is exceptional at all times, it is seldom possible to be sure of its origin: but in certain cases we shall find strong reason to think the consonantal value primitive, the vocalic secondary and either trans-ient or passing to *iy, uv* in classical Sanskrit.

§ 77. It is necessary for our present purpose to classify according to the relative frequency of vocalic and consonantal values. The following table will be useful for reference. The references are to the following sections.

Radical y v.

<i>āhvat, ahve</i> § 96g	<i>tvā</i> § 78	<i>√vī 'go'</i> § 78
<i>√i 'go'</i> 83	<i>tvā- in composition</i> 93	<i>√vān</i> 83
<i>√tvij</i> 83	<i>tvāstar</i> 83	<i>√si 'bind'</i> 96c
<i>kvā</i> 78	<i>didī</i> 78	<i>svānā</i> 83
<i>gāvyyūti</i> 83	<i>didhi-</i> 78	<i>syā</i> 83
<i>jyā 'strength'</i> 83	<i>dyām</i> 83	<i>syonā</i> 78
<i>jyā 'bow'</i> 92	<i>√dyut</i> 83	<i>svā 'his'</i> 96f
<i>jyākā</i> 92	<i>dyām</i> 83	<i>√svad</i> 83
<i>jyāyas</i> 83	<i>dyāuh</i> 96a	<i>svār 'heaven'</i> 78
<i>jyēstha</i> 83	<i>dvā</i> 92	<i>svargā</i> 78
<i>jyók</i> 78	<i>√dhanv</i> 96b	<i>svāhā</i> 83
<i>tyā</i> 83	<i>pīpi-</i> 78	<i>svīd</i> 83
<i>tva 'many'</i> 96e	<i>bībhi-</i> 83	<i>hiyānā</i> 83
<i>tvā 'thou,' tvām,</i>	<i>bhiyāsam</i> 83	<i>√hū</i> 96g
<i>tvām, tvé</i> 93	<i>mimi-</i> 83	
<i>tvāyā, tvāt, tvā</i> 83	<i>memi-</i> 78	

Suffixal y v in nouns.

<i>-āyā</i> § 80	<i>-ya after light syl-</i>	<i>-vāna</i> § 85
<i>-itva</i> 85	lables..... § 84	<i>-vāni</i> 85
<i>-enya</i> 80	<i>-ya after heavy syl-</i>	<i>-vant</i> 85
<i>-tyā</i> 78	lables..... 80	<i>-vara, -vala</i> 85
<i>-tya</i> 80, 84, 94	<i>daivya</i> 95	<i>-varī</i> 85
<i>-tyu</i> 85	<i>santya</i> 84	<i>-vas</i> 85
<i>-tva subst.</i> 85	<i>sārya</i> 95	<i>-vi, vī</i> 85
<i>-tva adj.</i> 80	<i>-yas</i> 85	<i>-vin</i> 85
<i>-tvana</i> 85	<i>-yu</i> 85	<i>-vyā, vyā</i> 78
<i>-nya (nya)</i> 80, 84	<i>-va, -vā</i> 85	<i>-syā</i> 78
<i>-yā, yā</i> 79	<i>-ācva</i> 85	
<i>vasavyā</i> 79	<i>tānva</i> 85	
<i>-ya, -yā, chiefly</i>	<i>-vatī</i> 85	
vocalic in some	<i>-van</i> 85	
words..... 94	<i>dhānvan</i> 85	

Suffixal y v in verbs.

<i>Absolutives</i> § 87	<i>-ya as class and</i>	<i>açyām</i> § 88
<i>Infinitives in -ityai.</i> 87	denominative sign..... § 88	<i>syām</i> 96d
<i>-dhyai.</i> 87	<i>impf. āsia, rt. 2 as.</i> 88	
<i>-nu, -u as class-signs</i> 88	<i>-yā as optative sign.</i> 88	

Declension of nouns with stems in -i, -ī (-ī'), -ī', -u, -ū.

-i stems : instrum. -yā after light syll. § 97 instrum. -yā after heavy syll. 82 abl. gen. sing., n. v. a. pl. -yāḥ 86	-i stems : gen. loc. du. -yoḥ after light syll. § 97 gen. loc. du. -yoḥ after heavy syll. 82
-ī (-ī) stems (Lanman's B class) instrum. -yā after light syll. § 97 instrum. -yā after heavy syll. 82 dat. gen. abl. in -yai, -yāḥ 98	-ī (-ī) stems : loc. in -yām § 97 gen. loc. du. -yoḥ after light syll. 97 rodasiḥ 97 gen. loc. du. -yoḥ after heavy syll. 82
-ī' stems (Lanman's C class) § 81	
-u stems : instrum. sing. -vā, masc. and neut. § 86 instrum. sing. -vā, fem. : after light syll. 97 instrum. sing. -vā, fem. : after heavy syll. 82 abl. gen. sing. n. v. a. pl. in -vaḥ 86 fem. forms in -vai, -vāḥ, -vām after light syll. 86	-u stems : fem. forms in -vai, -vāḥ, -vām after heavy syll. 82 dual paçvā 86 gen. loc. du. in -voḥ after light syll. 97 gen. loc. du. in -voḥ after heavy syll. 82

-ū stems § 81

stem <i>rai</i> § 86 and note	<i>paty-</i> § 86, 97
<i>jan-</i> § 86	<i>sakhy-</i> 86, 97

Noun and verb endings :

-dhva § 90	-vahi § 90
-dhvam 90	-vahe 90
-dhve 90	-sya 89
-dhvai 90	-syāḥ 89
-bhya, bhyam 89	-syai 89
-bhyāḥ 89, 99	-syām 89
-bhyām 89	-sva 90

Refer throughout to Edgren, *Semivowels*, JAOS. xi. 67-88.

§ 78. In the Rīgveda *y v* regularly represent or include vocalic sounds in root-syllables in *kūa*, 'where,' *jīók* 'long,' *tuā* instr., *siṇá*, *sūar* 'heaven,' and *suargá* : in forms from 1 *vī* 'go,' e. g. *viánti*, *viántā* : and in the participles *dīdiat*, *dīdiāna* : *đidhiat*, *đidhiāna* : *pīpiāna*, *pīpiānā*, *mēmiat* : *mēmiāna*.

The exceptions are *kvā* i. 38. 2 ; v. 61. 2 *bis* ; and AV. 2 : *jyók* vi. 28. 3¹ and AV. 2 : *svār* AV., 12 times : *svargá* AV., 19 times : *syoná* AV., 29 times : *avyan* iii. 49. 1.² For compounds of *tvā*, see § 93.

§ 79. Also *y* is regularly vocalic in the noun-suffix -*ia*, -*iā*.

¹ Yet this is not certain : on the other hand *jyók* is a possible reading in x. 59. 6.

² See Table, § 102.

In the following words this suffix follows a light syllable: *adhīṣa-vaṇia*, *apasīa*, *aria*, *aryamīa*, *asūria*, *ahania*, *ucathīa*, *udania*, *ūṣma-ṇīa*, *kaniā*, *karmanīa*, *chandasia*, *tavasyā*, *tiṣīa*, *doṣanyā*, *dhvanīa*, *nabhanīa*, *namasīa*, *nahuṣīa*, *pathīā*, *parvatīa*, *pātalyā*, *puruṣīa*, *pūṣa-ria*, *pradhanīa*, *prācaviā*, *barhiṣīa*, *manuṣīa*, *yamīa*, *rathīa*, *rājanīa*, *lakṣmaṇīa*, *vapuṣīa*, *vayīa*, *varuṇīa*, *vidathīa*, *viṣīa*, *vṛjanīa*, *vratīa*, *ṣata-dhanīa*, *ṣapathīa*, *ṣāmulīa*, *ṣiṣanyā*, *ṣṛavasīa*, *sacathīa*, *sadhanīa*, *sapa-ria*, *samanīa*, *samaria*, *sahasīa*, *sādanīa*, *sāmanīa*, *svarīa*, *haviṣyā*, *hrdayyā*. Several of these are also found in AV., and also *āyusiā*, *enasīa*, *kulīā*, *jaghanīa*, *tirīa*, *tvacasyā*, *dhanvanīa*, *pājasīa*, *puṣyā*, *barjahyā*, *bhasadyā*, *matīa*, *yajuṣīa*, *raṇīa*, *vacasīa*, *varcasīa*, *ṣikyā*, *srotasīa*. Similar words in *-tīa*, *-vīa*, *-sīa* etc. are *pacatīa* (RV.): *devatīa* (AV.): *urjā-vīa*, *paçavyā*, *vasavīa*, *ṣaravīā* (all RV.): *vāyavyā* (RV. and AV.): *janitavīa*, *mathavyā*, *hanavyā*, *hiṁsitavyā* (AV.): *bhujīṣyā* (AV.).¹

Of these words *vasavyā* has *y* consonant 7 times (in A and B), *y* vowel 3 times only. It is therefore an exception, and has perhaps suffered change of accent. Otherwise there are 20 exx. only of *y* consonant in RV., viz.: *tavasyā*, *doṣanyā*, *pātalyā*, *manuṣyā* 7, *ṣiṣanyā* 2, *sahasīyā* 2, *haviṣyā*, *hrdayyā*: *kanyā*: *paçavyā*, *vāyavyā*, *ṣaravyā*. Of these 20 exx. 14 are in period C. In the AV. the vocalic value (47 exx.) is only slightly more common than the consonantal (41 exx. in verse passages).²

After a heavy syllable there is no example of *y'* consonant in RV., but there are a few in AV.

§ 80. The derivative suffixes *-ya*, *-yā*, including *-āyya*, etc., of all categories, are usually vocalic after heavy syllables. We must however except *santya* which has always *y*: *daīvyā*, *sūryā*, *sūryā*, which shew a much larger proportion of *y* forms in the earlier periods than other words apparently of the same type, are treated separately below, § 95. In almost all cases the proportion of consonantal forms increases in the later periods; but *daīvyā* (with *y* consonant) becomes again rare in AV. The gerundives do not differ from other nouns in *-ya*: and we may also include here the suffixes *-tya*, *-nya* (in *dhīṣṇya*), and the gerundives in *-enya* (*-enya*), and in *-tva*, which last ending always follows heavy syllables. The gerundives in *-itva* (*janitva*, *sānitva*) have *v* cons.: but *bhavitvā* shews again the vowel.³

To the above rule out of about 1000 instances there are only 65 exceptions altogether noticed in RV., but a much greater number in AV.

The exceptions in Rigveda belong to the following stems: *agāstyā*, *aghnyā*, *āçvyā* 3 (and *su-āçvyā*), *ājya*, 1 *ārya*, 2 *ārya* 5, *kāvyā*, *kāvyā* 2, *jyāiṣṭhya* 2, *tātyā* 2, *tārīṣya* 2, *tuchyā* 2, *tīrāhnyā*, *dakṣāyya*, *nṛśāhya*, *pārya*, *paūṣya*, *paurukutsyā*, *mātsya* 2, *vātāpya* 2, *viçvādevya*, *vṛtra-tārya* 6, *vaigya*, *ṣatrutārya*, *svīrya* 3, *saūbhāgya*, *hāstyā*, *hotṛvārya*.⁴ Gerundives in *-ya*: *ṭātyā* 2, *anindyā*, *anumādyā*, *pravāçya*, *vārya* and *rāṇḍya*. In *-tya*, *asajātyā*, *āptyā*. Gerundives in *-enya*: *ābhūṣēnya*, *dirkṣēnya* 2, *marmṛjēnya*, *saparyēnya*:⁵ in *-tva*, *kārtva* 2.

¹ In the above list *-ia* is written if there is any example of that value, otherwise, as in the texts, *-yā*. ² See Table § 102.

³ *bhavitvā* ii. 24. 5, not as Grassmann *bhavitvā*.

⁴ *saptā-ārya* 3 is wrongly suggested by Grassmann, the true reading being *saptāṣīa*. See Table § 102.

⁵ *paprṣēnya* is suggested unnecessarily by Grassmann.

§ 81. *Y, v* have vocalic value in all forms of nouns of the -*ī* class (Lanman's C class, later radical class), and of the -*ū* class.

Exceptions are very rare in the Rigveda: *staryām* vii. 68. 8 (see Lanman, p. 379), *nadyāḥ* vii. 50. 4:¹ *tanvām* viii. 65. 12, *tanvāḥ* i. 162. 20, x. 51. 2. 4, *camvōḥ*, ix. 96. 21. But in the AV. 36 such forms are noted, and it is very doubtful whether such forms as appear in the text of the RV. can be successfully removed by emendation.²

§ 82. In the instrum. sing. and gen. loc. dual of -*ī*, -*ī(-ī)* (Lanman's B class) and of -*ū* stems, if a heavy syllable precedes, *y, v* have vocalic value.

There are however only feminine -*ū* stems that shew such forms in RV., and the number of examples is very small.

Exceptions: -*ī* stems: instrum. sing., *ākūtyā* x. 151. 4, *īstyā* x. 169. 2, *devākūtyā* x. 63. 11;³ in AV., nine occurrences. -*ī*, (-*ī*) stems: instr. s. in AV., three times: *samīcyōḥ* RV. x. 24. 5, and once in AV. -*ū* stems: gen. loc. du. in -*voḥ*, three times in AV.

In the AV. the vowel forms still greatly preponderate: thus in the instr. sing. there are 93 vowel forms, and only 12 consonantal.²

The same rule holds for the AV. for the feminine forms in -*vai*, -*vāḥ*, -*vām* after heavy syllables: *ṣvaṣruai* 26, *urvāruḥ*, *prḍākuāḥ*, *ṣvaṣruḥ*: but *rājīvām*. We cannot however trace this rule back to the RV., where there are two forms only, *suṽāstvāḥ* and *ṣvaṣruām*, each occurring once.

A similar gen. sing. masc. in -*uāḥ* has been conjectured by Lanman in place of *dhṛsnóḥ* x. 22. 3, and *viṣṇoḥ* viii. 31. 10.

§ 83. In root-syllables and verb-stems, *y v*, in whatever position they occur, have with but few exceptions consonantal value. Thus from root *i* 'go', *yāt*, *yānti*, *yāntu*, etc.: rt. 2. *ci* 'see' *cikyatuḥ*, *cikyāḥ*: rt. *jī* 'conquer' *jigyuh*. So in the reduplicated verb-stems *pīpy-*, *bībhy-*, *mīmy-*, *jūhv-*; rt. *div* 'shine' in *dyāt*, *dyām*, *dyūn*: rt. *svad* 'taste sweet': and the pronoun *tva* 'thou,' so far as the forms *tvā* (acc. enclitic), *tvāyā* instr., *tvāt* abl. are concerned.

There are however some exceptions: see § 78 (*kūa* 'where', *jīōk*, *tuā* instr., *siōnā*, *sūar*, *suargā*: rt. 1 *vī* 'go': verb-stems *dīdi-*, *dīdhi-*, *pīpi-*, *mēmi-*), § 92 (*duā*, *jiā*, *jiakā*): § 93 (*tuām*, *tuām*, *tuē*), § 96 (nom. s. *dyaūḥ*, rt. *si* 'bind', *tva* 'many', *svā* 'his own').

Where *tvāstar* is trisyllabic, some such form as *tvāstar* would best suit the metre, and next to it Grassmann's suggestion *tvākṣitar*; not however *tuāstar* (as Edgren). We have also to read always *svānā* from *su* 'press', text *suṽānā*.

In *jyēstha* *y* is always consonantal, but see above § 70: and where *dyām* is disyllabic, it is better to resolve *ā*: see above § 66. The words *ṛtvij*, *gāvayūti*, *svāhā*, and *svīd*, though apparently

¹ In ix. 9. 4 it is better to read *nadio* 'jinvad'. ² See Table § 102.

³ *açityā* ii. 18. 6 is wrongly suggested by Grassmann.

compounds, have *v* consonant always, and must for practical purposes be classified with words that have radical *y* *v*.

In *syá*, *tyá* vocalization is somewhat more common : but as the whole stem dies out at an early period, we cannot trace its history.

In the instrumental *tváya* vocalization is rare : in the enclitic *tvā* and abl. *tvāt* it is progressive, and fairly common in AV.

To Grassmann's lists are to be added : *tuāt* 448. 3, 454. 1, 521. 3, 537. 3, 844. 13, 924. 2 : *tuā* 191. 10,¹ 376. 3, 390. 5, 532. 4, 653. 8, 669. 16, 707. 7, 711. 18, 760. 3, 873. 8, 911. 22, 963. 7, 966. 6, 984. 5, 986. 5, 987. 5.

Written *iy* is to be read as *y* cons. in *hiyāná* ix. 13. 6 ; 98. 2, and *bhiyásam* ii. 28. 6 ; ix. 19. 6.

Isolated exceptions are rare and therefore doubtful : as such are suggested *iānti* x. 26. 1 ; *iantu* viii. 60. 10 ; *diān* v. 86. 5 ; *diótanaḥ* viii. 29. 2 ; *sudiótmanam* ii. 4. 1 ; *ḡuán* 'dog' x. 14. 10, 11 ; 86. 4 : *suāddanti* Vāl. 2. 5, *suādante* ii. 1. 14 : and from *jiā* 'strength' *jiāyān* iii. 38. 5 ; vi. 30. 4 ; x. 50. 5 ; *paramajiā* viii. i. 30.²

§ 84. The suffixes *-ya*, *-yā*, *-tya*, *-nya*, etc. following light syllables have *y* consonant. There are however many exceptional words, for which see § 94 : on the other hand *santya* has *y* consonant.

Isolated instances to the contrary are few : *ajuriā*, *átia* 7, *āditia* 6, *ariā*, *gāvia* 3 (and *sugāvia*), *dhānia* 2, 1 *nāvia* 2, *bhāvia*, *māria* 4 : *kuliā*, *pādiā* : *aniā* 2, *nīpiā* 2. Besides these, AV. has two examples : *vānia*, *vātāparjaniā*.³

§ 85. Consonantal *y* *v* (especially the latter) is found in numerous noun-suffixes : *-tyu*, *-yas*, *-yu* : *-va*, *-vā*, *-vi*, *-vī*, *-van*, *-vant*, *-vatī*, *-vas* (*-vāns*), *-tvana*, *-vana*, *-vani*, *-vara*, *-varī*, *-vala*, *-vin* : *-tva* substantial : and in the gerundive *-itva*.

There are a few cases of vocalization of *v* in *ācva* 'horse', sometimes in the simple noun, more often in compounds of which the first element ends in *-a*, which combines with the initial *a* of *ācva*. In the latter case the hypothesis of internal hiatus, e. g. *ṛjrá-a-cva* (as Grassmann) must be rejected in favour of vocalization of *v*, e. g. *ṛjrácva*, in almost every instance.

Examples : *ācua* i. 162. 19 ; 175. 4 ;³ vi. 63. 7 ; viii. 5. 35 ; ix. 94. 5 ;⁴ x. 39. 10 ;⁴ *aghācua* i. 116. 6 ; *ajācua* i. 138. 4 bis ; *ṛja(rācua* i. 100. 16 ; *ṛjrácua* i. 100. 17 ; 116. 16 ; 117. 18 ; *ṛjrácua* i. 119. 1 ; 157. 3 : *catācua* viii. 4. 19 ; x. 62. 8 : *cyāvācua* v. 61. 5 ; viii. 35. 19, 20, 21 ; 36. 7 ; 37. 7 ; 38. 8 : *sāmbhṛtācua* viii. 34. 12 ; and twice in AV.

Otherwise *-ua*, *-tua* are rare, and almost only after heavy syllables :

¹ The accentless form still creates difficulty.

² See Table § 103.

³ But we may read *vāatasya* instead.

⁴ In these the external sandhi gives *ā* preceding.

apuā x. 103. 12, and once in AV. : *ūruā* ix. 87. 8 ; 1 *tānua* iii. 31. 2 : 2 *tānua* x. 93. 15, 3 *tānua* ix. 14. 4 ; 78. 1 : *nāvavāstua* vi. 20. 11 ; *pētua* vii. 18. 17, and once in AV. : *rakṣastuā* viii. 18. 13.

Vocalization occurs also, but rarely, in perfects in *-vas*, (*-vāns*).

Exx. after heavy syllables *dācuās* i. 150. 1 ; iv. 2. 8 ; vii. 37. 4 ; 92. 3 ; Vāl. 9. 4 ; viii. 60. 4 ; and once in AV. : *mīdhuds* i. 114. 3 ; viii. 25. 14 ; 65. 7 ; ix. 61. 23 ; 85. 4 ; 113. 2 ; and x. 85. 25. After light syllables still more seldom : *jujuruās* ii. 4. 5 ; *viduās* i. 190. 7 ; ii. 15. 7 ; x. 136. 6 ; *sāsahuās* i. 100. 5.

From *dhānvan* (where however *-van* is only apparently the suffix) we have *dhānua* i. 35. 8 ; *dhānuā* vi. 12. 5 ; *dhanuacyāt* i. 168. 5 : compare the verb-stem *dhanu* § 96.

None of these "resolutions" seem peculiar to any one period of the RV. How thoroughly established the consonantal values are, even after heavy syllables, appears from their exclusive use in such common words as *ūrdhvā*, *pūrva*, in marked contrast to the almost exclusive use of the vowel values in words of similar form in *-ya*.¹

§ 86. In the declension of *-i* *-u* stems we find *y* consonant in all forms of the stems *jany-* *paty-* *sakhy-*, except the instrum. sing. for which see § 97 : and in the abl. gen. sing. and the nom. voc. acc. plural in *-yaḥ*, *-vaḥ* (e. g. *aryāḥ*, *krátvaḥ*). Light syllables always precede.

Also, wherever a light syllable precedes (and this is usually the case) in the instr. s. masc. and neut., and in the dual in *-vā* (the latter only in the form *paçvā*), and in the fem. dat. in *-vai*, abl. gen. in *-vāḥ*, loc. in *-vām*.

Forms of this last group occur only rarely in RV. after heavy syllables, for which see § 82.

The exceptions are : *sákhiuḥ* viii. 58. 7 ; x. 3. 4 : *ariāḥ* (gen. s.) iv. 48. 1 ;² vi. 14. 3 ;² vii. 8. 1 : *mādhuaḥ* (gen. s.) ix. 24. 7 ; 109. 20 : (nom. pl.) ix. 89. 3. Conjectural is *ripuāḥ* iv. 3. 13 : see also § 82 fin. *krātuā* iv. 28. 3 ; vii. 21. 6 : *vadhuaḥ* once in AV.¹ Here perhaps we may refer to the instrum. *rāid* i. 129. 10 : see also note 2 below.

§ 87. The infinitives *-ityai*, *-dhyai* and the gerunds *-tya*, *-ya*, *-tvā*, *-tvāya*, *-tvī* have regularly consonantal values. In five cases we have *-dhiai*, all after light syllables: viz. *irādhiai* i. 134. 2, *yajādhiai* viii. 39. 1, *vāhadhiai* x. 22. 5, *risayādhiai* i. 129. 8, *çayādhiai* ii. 17. 6. As this infinitive hardly occurs after period A, we cannot trace its history further. Gerunds in *-tuā* or *-tūi* do not seem to occur in RV.,³ but are common in AV., without regard to the quantity of the preceding syllable: viz. *krtuā* 15, *krituā*, *gatuā* (?), *cāyituā*, *tr̥dhuā*, *dattuā* 2, *dr̥ṣtuā* (?), *patituā*, *pītuā* 2, *baddhuā*, *bhaktuā*, *bhūtuā* 6, *mṛṣtuā*, *yuktuā*,

¹ See Table § 103.

² In these passages we have to choose between *rāyāḥ ariāḥ* and *rāidḥ aryāḥ*. Cf. § 219.

³ The form *vr̥ṣtuā* v. 53. 14, is possible rather than probable. See § 217.

vittuā 2, *stutuā*, *hatuā*. The forms in *-tvā* are still more than twice as common. This is perhaps the most striking example we have of late secondary vocalization.¹

§ 88. In *-ya* used as a verbal suffix of whatever kind, and in *-nu*, *-u* as class-signs, vocalization is rare and presumably secondary: it is comparatively common only in the stem *dhanu-* (see § 96b) and the optative *syām* (§ 96d).

Possible exceptions are: *kṣeṣāntaḥ* ii. 4. 3, *ṛjāntaḥ* vi. 37. 2. 3; *āsiat* iv. 30. 20, x. 72. 8, 138. 4. Optatives: *aḥiām* v. 64. 3, *aḥiāma* ii. 19. 7; iv. 4. 14: *ṛdhiāmā* iv. 10. 1, *gamīāḥ* i. 187. 7, *jaḡmiātam* vi. 50. 10, *vidiātām* viii. 5. 37,² *vavṛtiām* viii. 7. 33, *vavṛtiūḥ* x. 26. 8. Class-sign *-nu*: *tanu-āntaḥ* iv. 45. 2, 6, *dhūnuānā* vi. 47. 17, *ḡṇuāntu* iii. 20. 1, v. 41. 12, *sunuānti* v. 30. 6.¹

§ 89. We find *y* consonant in the noun-endings *-sya*, *-syai*, *-syāḥ*, *-syām*: *-bhya*, *-bhyam*, *-bhyām*: *-hya*, *-hyam*: and in *-bhyaḥ* after a light syllable. The analogy of these forms goes to shew that *-bhiaḥ* (for which see below § 99) is of secondary origin.

In these extremely common forms exceptions are so few as to be very doubtful, and their value as evidence of the history of the forms seems to be slight. For some alleged instances of *-sia*, see Lanman, p. 338. Other suggested exceptions are *tāsiaḥ* ii. 13. 1, *viḡvāsiaḥ* x. 6. 3: *yuṣmā-bhiām* i. 88. 3, *nāsatyābhiām* i. 20. 3, *prāpadābhiām* x. 163. 4, *haryatā-bhiām* viii. 6. 36: *nārbhiaḥ* i. 43. 6, *nṛbhiaḥ* i. 110. 6³: and in AV. *brahmābhiaḥ*, *majjābhiaḥ*.¹

§ 90. Similarly we find almost always *v* consonant in the verb-endings *-dhuam*, *-dhue*, *-sua*: the exceptions, however, number 26; all that I have found (given by Grassmann) are in periods A and B. Ending *-dhva* has always *v* consonant; for *-dhvai*, see § 323.

The forms are: in *-dhuam* *ācidhuam* 3, *amugdhuam*, *āyugdhuam* 5, *ārādhhuam* 3, *astoḡdhuam*, *īrdhuam*, *vavṛdhuam* (from *vart*, *vrt*): in *-dhue* *aṅgdhué*: in *-sua* *mātsua* 5, *vānsua*, *vavṛtsua* 3, *hārṣasua*.¹

The endings *-vahi*, *-vahe* are without exception consonantal.

§ 91. From a comparison of the above sections 78–90, with the tables below, §§ 102, 103, it will be seen that occasional consonantization, in words and forms in which the vowel value is regular, shews late date; but where the consonant value is regular, the vowel value is no direct indication of date, and sometimes belongs to a late period only. Similarly, in those cases in which both consonant and vowel values are fairly common, we can now infer that if vowel values preponderate, the consonantal values are later in date: but if the consonant values preponderate, the date of the vowel values still remains to be investigated.

§ 92. In *duā* 'two' the vowel alone is found in A: whilst in AV. the consonant is nearly as common. Similar change may be

¹ See Table § 103.

² *vidiāt* x. 85. 34 (Gr.) is not necessary.

³ Not x. 148. 4, where we can read *daaḥ*.

noticed in *jiā*, *jiākā* 'bow-string,' and the compounds of *jiā*: cf. *jiā* 'strength' § 83.¹

§ 93. In the forms *tuām*, *tuām*, *tué* the vowels are 3 times as common in A and B₁, and even 4 times as common in B₂, as the consonants: whilst in the later periods consonantal forms are much more common. As to *tvā* (enclitic) and *tvāyā*, see above § 83. Comparing the two sets of forms we are led to a double stem, **tu-* or *tuv-* in the strong cases including the locative), and **tv-* in the weak cases: a distinction obliterated in period C. The special prevalence of vowel forms in B₂ remains unexplained.¹

The occurrences of *tuām*, *tuām* are too numerous to be quoted here: for *tué*, *tvé* add to those given by Grassmann: *tué* 169. 5, 187. 6, 192. 13, 196. 8, 219. 8, 232. 17, 245. 9, 254. 3, 298. 9, 328. 3, 4, 357. 1, 442. 3, 517. 17, 520. 4, 521. 6, 527. 3, 528. 3, 532. 7, 547. 5, 624. 16, 639. 8, 664. 28, 670. 6, 687. 8, 701. 14, 712. 5, 713. 5, 822. 7, 847. 3, 869. 2, 870. 4, 895. 8, 946. 3, 966. 3: *tvé* 387. 6, 442. 13, 446. 2, 453. 2, 517. 21, 534. 1, 639. 18, 675. 12, 924. 10, 931. 8, 968. 1.

The instrumental *tuā* occurs only in a single phrase and with a vowel value. But *tuā-* in composition and derivation, apparently without any distinction depending on any original case-meaning, occurs in both forms in periods A and B, the consonantal form being progressive. The words included are *tvādatta*, *tvādāta*, *tvāddūta*, *tvānād*, *tvāyāt*, *tvāyā*, *tvāvat*, *tvāvasu*, *tvāvrdha*, *tvāhata*, *tvēṣita*, *vōta*, *tvōti*.¹

§ 94. In many nouns with suffix *-ya*, *-yā*, etc., after a light syllable, even though the *y* (*i*) bears no accent, the vowel value is more common or at least equally so. No principle distinguishing these nouns from those which contain *y* cons. has yet been established: Edgren's suggestion that those derived from nouns in *-a* belong to this class is not true without exception. Most of the gerundives are placed here, yet others, such as *avadyā*, *2 nāvya* 'praiseworthy,' have always *y*. Compare § 84.

The following list will be a guide: the occurrences of *y* forms (if more than one occur) are added in brackets, the forms of the AV. being included on both sides: *āpia* 10 (4 in cpds.), *aucathīd*² 1 (1), *iria* 3 (2), *kṣāmia* 2 (0), *gānia*, *jānia* 6 (4), but the compounds have *-janya*, *jāmaria*, *dāmia* 5 (0), *dīviā* 72 (52): *duria* 8 (2), *nāria* 49 (1), *pūṣia*, *mādia* 12 (1), *yāvia*, *yūjia* 23 (0), *rānia* 4 (4), *rāthia* 13 (4), *sakhiā* 75 (36), *hṛdia*, 3 (0): to which may be added *ānia* 2 (1), though here the suffix is *-a*. Also *brahmañiā*, *camīā* 2 (0), *hāviā*, *himiā*. Gerundives: *gādhiā* 4 (0), *guhia* 22 (7), *tūjia* 2 (0), *dābhia* 2 (0), *dṛcia*, *gāsia*, *hāvia* 30 (10), *vihāvia*: *carikṛtia* 6 (3), *gopayātia*, *ṣrūtia* 13 (1). Long *i* is found in *yaviā* 3 (0).¹

§ 95. In the words *sūrya* etc., and *daivya*, the *y* form is fairly common (including about 25 per cent. of the occurrences) from the earliest period. It may be suggested that *sūrya* has replaced an early *suṛia*, and that *daivya* is influenced by the pronunciation of the cognate *dāvya*. However this may be, consonantization in the RV. is markedly more common than in other words of

¹ See Table § 104.

² In i. 158. 1. *aucathyāḥ* suits the metre better.

the same type : though in the use of *daivya* it again disappears in period C.¹

§ 96. Consonantal *y v* are regular, vocalic *y v* to a greater or less degree exceptional, as follows :

(a) nom. sing. *dyāúh* 'heaven.' The vowel form is early. For *dyām* see § 66. See also below, § 221.

(b) verb-stem *dhanv* when followed by a vowel. The -*u* value belongs chiefly to period B₁. Compare *dhānuan*, *dhānvan*, § 85.

(c) verb-stem *si* in *sya*, *syatam*, etc. Here *y* is steadily progressive.

(d) in the optative *syām*. The most noticeable form is the first person pl., in which the -*i* form is almost alone in use in AV. To the exx. given by Grassmann are to be added : *siāma* 313. 9, 408. 13, 493. 5, 517. 20, 520. 7, 530. 3, 533. 7, 553. 4, 557. 4, 576. 1, 608. 4, 1022. 7, 798. 38, 848. 12, 857. 1, 862. 12, 864. 2, 890. 11, 892. 12, 952. 4. *syāma* 358. 1, 374. 4, 672. 10.

(e) *tva* 'many.'

(f) *svā* 'own.' The vowel form is progressive.²

(g) The imperfects *āhuat*, *āhue* seem to represent a purely graphical variation, as *āhuvanta*, *āhuve* are also found.

§ 97. Also in the instrumental singular -*yā*, -*vā* from stems in -*i*, -*ī* (*ī*), and from fem. stems in -*u* after light syllables and from the stems *paty-*, *sakhy-* consonantization is progressive : in the earliest period the vowel is still the more common. The same is true of the feminine locative forms generally in -*yām*.³ The duals -*ioh* -*voh* from the same stems as are named above are comparatively rare, and no certain rule can be laid down. From *ródasi*, the gen. loc. du. is *ródasiōh* (16 times) : but *ródasyōh* is twice written, where the metre requires *ródasoḥ* (Grassmann).²

§ 98. On the other hand, in the case of the feminine datives in -*yai*, abl. gen. in -*yāh*, the *y* form is primitive, and is only gradually encroached upon by the vowel forms in period C.^{2, 3}

§ 99. The history of the suffix -*bhyah* after a heavy syllable is somewhat more difficult to follow. In the earliest period -*bhiah* -*bhyah* are equally common : and it is unnecessary to explain away the forms in -*bhiah*. This is not, however, sufficient evidence that -*bhiah* is the primitive form. After the period A the consonant form seems to advance steadily : but the special favour in which it is found in period B₁ is perhaps due to the prevalence there of the Tristubh metre. The occurrences of -*bhyah* in RV. after a heavy syllable are stated by Edgren as 200, but I have only succeeded in finding 158.²

§ 100. Thus in the great majority of forms the trend in the Veda is towards consonantization. That a few groups should be found in which the trend is for the time in an opposite direction is quite in accordance with the general history of language, and

¹ See Table § 104.

² See Table, § 105.

³ See below, §§ 198, 199.

in particular cases "false analogy" or metrical convenience may be contributory causes.

§ 101. No treatment of the vocalization of *y v* can be really complete which does not take into account those similar words and forms in which the Veda writes and pronounces *iy, uv*. Such a discussion is, however, outside the scope of the present article.

§ 102. Table shewing occasional instances of consonantal values in words and forms which have regularly the vowel values in the Rigveda.

Refer to §		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
78	Root-syllables	2	2	--	2	1	--	64	65
79	Suffixal -yā, -yā, etc.	2	2	2	4	4	10	41	55
80	" -ya, -yā, etc. after heavy syllables, except daivya, sūrya	21	12	21	33	4	7	87	98
81	Declension of -ī, -ā stems ..	2	1	--	1	3	1	36	40
82	Instrum. -yā, -vā, gen. loc. du. -yoh, -voh after heavy syllables	--	1	1	2	--	3	16	19
	Total	27	18	24	42	12	21	244	277

§ 103. Table shewing the occasional occurrences of vowel values of *y v* where consonantal values are regular.

Refer to §		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
83	Root-syllables: isolated occur- rences	6	4	1	5	3	--	--	3
	sid, tid	13	6	9	15	--	--	--	0
	tuāyā	0	--	2	2	1	--	--	1
	tuā	10	3	5	8	1	4	22	27
	tuāt	4	1	3	4	1	1	9	11
84	-ia, etc. sporadically after light syllables	6	13	12	25	2	1	2	5
85	açua	4	--	1	1	1	--	--	1
	compounds in -açua	10	--	8	8	1	--	2	3
	others in -ua	2	3	--	3	--	1	1	2
	-tua substantival	2	--	1	1	--	--	1	1
	perfects in -uās	9	1	5	6	--	3	1	4
	dhanuan	2	--	1	1	--	--	--	0
86	-ī -ū stems, certain endings after light syllables, and stem rai-	8	3	1	4	--	--	1	1
87	infinitives in -dhiai	3	--	2	2	--	--	--	0
	gerunds in -tuā	0	--	--	0	--	--	37	37
88	-ia as class sign, etc.	3	1	1	2	--	1	--	1
	-iā optative, exc. syām	6	2	1	3	--	--	--	0
	-nu as class sign, exc. dhanu- i irregularly in noun-endings ..	2	1	2	3	--	--	--	0
89	u occasionally in verb-endings ..	4	2	1	3	--	1	2	3
90, 323	u occasionally in verb-endings ..	14	5	9	14	1	--	--	1

§ 104. TABLE SHEWING THE OCCURRENCES OF *i*, *u*, *y*, *v*, IN THOSE WORDS AND FORMS IN WHICH THE VOCALIC VALUES PREPONDERATE IN THE RIGVEDA.

Refer to §		Vocalic values.										Consonantal values.										Percentages of consonantal values, where there are 25 at least of both.																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																	
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§ 105. TABLE SHEWING THE OCCURRENCES OF *i*, *u*, *y*, *v*, IN THOSE WORDS AND FORMS IN WHICH THE CONSONANTAL VALUES ARE AT LEAST EQUALLY COMMON IN RV. THE SIGNS C AND V IN THE LAST COLUMN MARK THOSE CASES IN WHICH CONSONANTIZATION AND VOCALIZATION RESPECTIVELY ARE PROGRESSING IN PERIOD C.

Refer to §	Vocalic values.																Consonantal values.										Percentage of consonantal val- ues, where there are at least 25 instances altogether.	
	A								B								C											
	A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C	A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C	A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C				
96	(a) nom. sing. <i>dyāh</i>	10	3	6	9	1	3	1	5	11	13	18	31	9	1	41	51	[52]	--	--	78	--	--	--	98	C		
	(b) verb-stem <i>dhān-</i>	1	0	1	10	--	--	--	0	6	4	--	4	--	--	--	0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	C			
	(c) " " <i>si</i> 'bind'	0	2	2	4	--	--	4	4	4	1	5	6	1	1	7	9	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	C			
	(d) opt. <i>syām</i> (exc. <i>syāma</i>)	8	4	3	7	--	--	4	4	14	2	9	11	3	5	8	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	V			
	(e) <i>syāma</i>	32	17	37	54	4	--	22	26	23	5	6	11	--	2	2	9	42	14	--	--	--	--	--	V			
	(f) <i>tva</i> 'many'	0	1	1	1	3	1	--	2	2	4	4	4	7	2	2	9	73	66	--	--	--	--	--	--	V		
97	(f) <i>svā</i> 'own'	16	5	16	21	2	3	30	85	42	17	31	48	4	4	14	20	--	--	--	--	--	--	32	--	V		
	instr. in <i>-yā</i> of <i>-i</i> (<i>-i</i>) stems after light syllables	12	8	7	15	1	1	4	6	11	8	15	22	4	4	22	30	[48]	--	--	60	--	--	82	--	C		
	instr. in <i>-vā</i> (fem. <i>-u</i> stems)	2	--	2	2	1	1	2	4	1	1	--	1	--	1	2	3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	C		
	loc. sing. fem. in <i>-yām</i>	10	4	1	5	1	--	24	25	7	7	3	18	21	4	3	73	80	[39]	--	--	81	--	--	76	--	C	
98	du. <i>-yol</i> , <i>-voḥ</i> after light syl- lables	3	--	4	4	--	--	5	5	2	4	1	5	--	1	1	172	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	V		
	fem. case-forms in <i>-yai</i> , <i>-yāh</i>	8	6	4	10	4	4	34	42	29	34	59	93	13	13	146	172	79	85	93	--	--	--	81	--	C		
99	<i>-bhyāh</i> after heavy syllable	51	14	34	48	9	12	32	55	49	23	45	68	16	25	160	201	49	63	57	--	--	--	64	68	83	--	C

C. Resolution of *r* and *n*.

§ 106. This variation is by no means so well established as the preceding. It is highly probable for the forms *pīt(a)rōḥ*, *māt(a)rōḥ*: and suggests itself constantly in the vocative *īnd(a)ra*, occurring in *Triṣṭubh-Jagatī* verse after the caesura. In the latter case, however, it may be we have a special variety of the verse, such as certainly exists. The combination *ūr* seems also occasionally to represent two short syllables. Anaptyxis, such as we find represented graphically in *nūtana*, *sarājantam*, *sumād*, may explain some cases. The list that follows is merely tentative: a special examination of the metrical probabilities of each case is needed, and that in turn depends upon the more accurate analysis of metre which we have not yet approached.

§ 107. Probable examples of *r* resolved are:

(a) *r* radical: *avri* iv. 55. 5: *kran* AV. 1: *dadhré* AV. 1: *prá* i. 117. 22; x. 79. 3; x. 95. 13; AV. 3: *prāṇá* AV. 2: *çaçré* AV. 2.¹

(b) *r* suffixal: *indra* 120 AV. 4: *īndramādana*, *īndravāta*, *īndrānt*, *ugrá*, *ṛjrá* 2, *ṛjrácua* i. 100. 16, *candrā* i. 135. 4, and AV. 1, *citrā*, *tántra* AV. 1, *tvāṣṭrá* 2, *dasrá*, *dātrá* 2, *namrá*, *pātra* 4 and AV. 1, *pīpru*, *bhrātrá*, *mántra* x. 50. 4, 6, *mandrá*, *mītrá* AV. 2, *rāṣṭrá* iv. 42. 1 and AV. 1, *rudrá* 16^a and AV. 5, *raūdra* 2, *vájra* AV. 5, *vajrin* vi. 20. 7, *vāçrá*, *çukrá*, *çmāçru*, *sahāsra*, *sutrātrá* vi. 68. 7, 1 *hótrá* 4, AV. 2.

(c) *r* declensional: *usrām* x. 6. 5, *pitróḥ* 20 AV. 1, *mātróḥ* 3, *svasróḥ*.

§ 108. Examples of disyllabic *ūr* are:

ūrjām x. 76. 1, *ūrjādaḥ* x. 53. 4, *spūrdhán* vi. 67. 9.

§ 109. Examples of *n* resolved are:

(a) *n* radical: *āñjan* (read *anājan*) vi. 63. 3, *añjāte* ix. 86. 43: *gnā* 7, *gnāspāti*, *snūbhīḥ*.

(b) *n* suffixal: *cyautná* vi. 47. 2; x. 50. 4; *yajñá* 6, *rékṇaḥ* i. 121. 5; 158. 1; vi. 20. 7; x. 61. 11; 132. 3; ³*çuṣṇa* i. 175. 4: *ástabhñāt* ii. 17. 5.

(c) *n* flexional. The instances are collected by Lanman, pp. 524, 525. As the vowel *ā* appears in some cases in the text, the forms can be more fully considered under the heading of flexion.⁴

§ 110. Table shewing resolutions of *r* and *n*.

Refer to §§		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
106, 107	<i>r</i> radical:	1	--	2	2	1	--	9	10
	" suffixal:	102	35	32	67	2	2	24	28
	" declensional:	3	3	19	22	--	--	1	1
108	<i>ūr</i>	1	1	--	1	1	--	--	1
109	<i>n</i> radical	6	4	1	5	--	--	--	0
	" suffixal	5	2	7	9	--	1	--	1
	" flexional	30	7	8	15	1	1	5	7
	All forms	148	52	69	121	5	4	39	48

¹ Perhaps *āk(a)rau* i. 120. 2: for *exx.* in AV., see Whitney, *Index*, p. 5.

² Add to Grassmann's list vi. 28. 7: vii. 46. 2, 4.

³ See above § 70.

⁴ See below, § 254.

D. The Vedic Linguals.

§ 111. Vedic *l*, *lh* appear to occur only as the finals of roots, usually after *i*: they are somewhat less common in period C. The instances are *il*, *il*, *kril*, *nīl*, *marl* (*mrl*), *vīl*, *hīl*: to which may probably be added *kūl* viii. 26. 10, *pīl* iv. 22. 8, and AV. once, and *mīlh* (very possibly connected with *mih*), in the word *mīlhá*, probably also in *mīdhvās* and (in AV.) *médhra*. Perhaps too we should write *jálhu*, seeing that *dh* proper occurs in no other word in RV. or AV.¹

§ 112. Vedic *n* (for *nd* see below, § 116) occurs in a very few established words, viz., *kánva* 85, *ganá* 74, *ninyá* 10, *pani* 53, *pāni* 32, 2 *vānī* 20 (including in each case AV.); and in the late words *kalyāna* 4 AV. 9, *pūnya* 2 AV. 22, *mañi* 2 AV. 81.

It also occurs in a comparatively large number of words rarely used, and in these somewhat more frequently in period C.

These are *āni* AV. 1, *anīyaská* AV. 1, *ānu* 5 AV. 1, *anulbaná* 2, *ānva* 5, *āni* 3, *enī* AV. 1, *onī* 4 AV. 1, *kāna* AV. 2, *√kanūkay*, *kāná* 1 AV. 1, *kānuká*, *kunapá* AV. 4, *kūnāru*, *guná* AV. 1, *drughaná*, *dhānika*, *nicumpuná*, *nīnik*, *√phan* 2, *bāná* 1 AV. 1, *bāna* AV. 2, *vanij* 2 AV. 1, 1 *vāná*, 2 *vāná* 2, 3 *vāná* 4, 1 *vāñī* 2, *vāñicī*, *venū*, *ṣaṇá* AV. 1, *ṣṇa* 6, *gloná* AV. 3, *sthāñu* 1 AV. 4, *sthñā* 5 AV. 2.¹

§ 113. Vedic *ṣ* (for *ṣt*, *ṣṭh* see below, § 117) occurs in all periods in the numeral *śás*, and its derivatives. As a variation of *s* in composition after *a*, *ā* it occurs in a few words (*ásādhā*, *turāśāh*, *purāśāh*, *pṛtanāśāh*) and most commonly in the earlier Rigveda. Otherwise it is more common in period C.

The words are *āṣa*, *āṣa* AV. 1, *kalmāṣa* AV. 2, *kavāṣa*, *√kaṣ* AV. 1, *kāṣkaṣa* AV. 2, *caṣāla* 2, *cāṣa*, *jālāṣa* 4 AV. 3, *jaṣá* AV. 1, *pāṣyá* 2, *baṣkāya*, *maṣmāṣá* AV. 1, *māṣa* and compounds AV. 3, *yevāṣa* AV. 2, *vāṣat* 11, AV. 14.¹

§ 114. *ṭ* is late in the Veda, and occurs only in words rarely used: it seems probable that they were mainly borrowed from non-Aryan languages.

Examples are: *aragárāta* AV. 1, *araṭvā*, *āghātā* AV. 1, *īta* AV. 2, *ītātaḥ*, *kakātīkā* AV. 1, *revūkakāta*, *ṣakāṭi*, *kātuka*, *pipilikāvaṭā* AV. 1, *kāṭā* AV. 1, *kīkaṭa*, *vīkaṭa*, *kīṭā* AV. 1, *kūṭa*, *kurūṭin* AV. 1, *kūṭa* 1 and AV. 1, *kūṭā* AV. 1, *ṣarkōṭa* AV. 1, *ṣārkoṭa* AV. 1, *kīkāṭa* AV. 1, *kṛpīṭa*, *kévāṭa*, *tirīṭin* AV. 1, *paṭarā* AV. 1, *paṭaurā* AV. 1, *pāṭā* AV. 1, *phāt* AV. 2, *bīriṭa*, *bekanāṭa*, *maṭmaṭā* AV. 2, *raghāt* AV. 1, *lalāṭa* AV. 2, *vaṭurīn* 2, *vāṣat* 11 AV. 14, *ṣraūṣat*. Of the 36 words quoted, there are 19 in which *k* precedes *ṭ*, being separated from it at least by a vowel. *ṇṭ* occurs once in AV., in *kāṇṭaka*.¹

§ 115. *th* only occurs in the words *ḡirimbitha*, *jāthara*, *jathāra*, *jāthala*²: *dh* (except as treated above, § 111) only perhaps in *jādhu*. Of these words *jāthāra* alone shews more than a single occurrence; it is most common in period B. *ṇth* occurs once in AV., in *sahākanthika*.¹

§ 116. For *d dh* (or *l lh*) radical, see above, § 111. Otherwise we find *d* in the early Rigveda in *padbhīh* 6 times, and in *pād-*

¹ See Table § 119.² Also in *pātharvan*, *pīthīnas*.

gr̥bhi: this *ḍ* presumably originates in the instrum. pl. of a noun *pác*, which has then become confused with *pád* in the instrum. pl. and in the compound.¹ The exclamations *bád* 9, *badá* also seem to be early. Other occurrences in the RV. proper are *kárudatin*, *tad*, *taḍit* 2, *meḍi* 2.

Otherwise *ḍ* is much commoner in the period C: and the combination *ṇḍ* is almost entirely confined to that period. The most important words (with the number of occurrences in RV.) are *anadváh* 3, *jaṅgidá* (in AV.), *pádbīṣa*, *puroḍāṣ*, *puroḍāṣa* (AV.): *āndá* 4 (and in *mārtāṇḍá* 3), *kāṇḍa* (AV.), *kunḍá* (AV.), *cānda* (AV.), *dandá* (AV.), *pīṇḍa* 2, *mandūka* 8, *ṣikhandin* (AV.):¹ in RV. occur also *naḍá*, *nāḍi*, *punḍárika* 1, *maṇḍūra-dhānika* 1, *cāndika*, *cāṇḍá*.

§ 117. The numeral *astá* only occurs commonly in period C, but we can hardly deny its existence in the early language: *kāsthā* is also early. Otherwise the combinations *st*, *sth* are late. Examples in RV. are *āstrī* 'hearth,' *upaṣtút*, *jarádaṣṭi* 2, *apāsthá* (in *apāsthávat*), *asthivát* 2.

§ 118. The linguals that are not phonetic, play on the whole a small part in the Veda, but the Rigveda proper shews us the use established of *l lh* radical, and of *n ṣ* in a limited number of words; *th*, *dh* occur only sporadically. But *t*, *d*, *ṇḍ*, *st*, *sth* hardly occur before the period C, and then rapidly increase in frequency, whilst many new words in *n ṣ* appear in the same period. We may therefore infer that the first linguals in Sanskrit were continuous sounds: that later they were supplemented by a complete series, borrowed from surrounding non-Aryan languages: and that finally Vedic *l lh* were supplanted by the later *ḍ dh*. Whether *lh* represents one sound or two can hardly be decided: the graphic representation points to a double sound and we have perhaps no example of a syllable ending with *lh* reckoned as light: the first syllables in *tr̥lhá*, *dr̥lhá*, *jálhu* (if this is not rather *jádhu*) being heavy.

§ 119. Table of linguals.

Refer to §		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
111	Vedic <i>l, lh</i> : <i>iḍ</i>	16	13	23	36	11	2	10	23
	<i>iḍ</i>	73	20	41	61	6	3	10	19
	<i>kūḍ</i>	1	--	--	0	--	--	--	0
	<i>kriḍ</i>	10	11	7	18	3	3	2	8
	<i>pīḍ</i>	1	--	--	0	--	--	1	1
	<i>nīḍ</i>	5	5	7	12	1	--	1	2
	<i>maṇḍ</i> , <i>mṛḍ</i>	54	9	33	42	12	6	38	56
	<i>viḍ</i>	15	5	13	18	2	6	1	9
	<i>hīḍ</i>	13	3	9	12	4	--	11	15
	<i>mīḍh</i>	37	8	11	19	1	3	4	8
	Total.....	225	74	144	218	40	23	78	141

¹ See Bloomfield, JAOS. xiv., p. cliv.—Ed.

Refer to §		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
112	<i>n</i> : <i>kanvá</i>	64	2	8	10	--	--	11	11
	<i>ganá</i>	17	14	27	41	1	5	10	16
	<i>ninyá</i>	3	2	3	5	2	--	--	2
	<i>pañi</i>	18	6	15	21	9	--	5	14
	<i>pāñi</i>	12	5	7	12	1	1	6	8
	2 <i>vāñi</i>	12	2	4	6	2	--	--	2
	Total	126	31	64	95	15	6	32	53
	<i>kalyāṇa</i>	--	--	3	3	1	--	9	10
	<i>pūṇya</i>	0	--	--	0	--	2	22	24
	<i>mañi</i>	0	--	2	2	--	--	81	81
	rarer words	23	9	16	25	2	5	27	34
	Total	23	9	21	30	3	7	139	149
113	<i>ṣ</i> : <i>aṣāḍha</i> , etc.	14	6	6	12	1	1	3	5
	<i>aṣa</i> , etc.	7	1	9	10	4	2	30	36
114	<i>t</i> , <i>ñt</i> :	7	1	8	9	5	6	40	51
115	<i>th</i> , <i>nth</i> :	7	14	13	27	--	1	--	1
116	<i>ḍ</i> : <i>paḍbhīh</i> , <i>paḍgrbhi</i> ..	4	1	2	3	--	--	--	0
	<i>bāḍ</i> , <i>baḍā</i>	5	2	3	5	--	--	--	0
	other words	4	--	10	10	11	4	71	86
	<i>ṇḍ</i> :	3	1	6	7	5	10	54	69
117	<i>ṣt</i> , <i>ṣth</i> : <i>aṣṭā</i> , etc.	4	1	2	3	4	2	34	40
	<i>kāṣṭhā</i>	4	2	3	5	1	1	1	3
	other words	1	1	--	1	--	5	22	27

E. The Letter l.*

§ 120. This letter, never very common in Sanskrit, is in the earlier parts of the Rigveda (A and B) rare : in C it is much more common. That the sound really existed in the earliest periods seems proved by certain words shewing it, which afterwards passed out of use : and in particular *uloká* and (in compounds) *-miṣṭla*. The following 12 words only shew five or more occurrences in A and B together : *kalāṣa* 48, *ḥlōka* 24, *uloká* 22, *valá* 22, *bahulá* 16, *-miṣṭla* 14, *kévala* 11, *bála* 11, *viṣpátā* 6, *√valg* 6, *nīla* 5, *palitá* 5. Of these *-miṣṭla* alone shews more occurrences in A than in B : *kalāṣa*, *uloká*, *ḥlōka* also have 5 or more occurrences in A.¹

§ 121. The word *-miṣṭla* does not occur in period C : of the other 11 words five are more common in C than in B, *bahulá*, *kévala*, *bála*, *√valg* and *nīla*. There are five words which occur chiefly in B : they are *kalāṣa*, *ḥlōka*, *uloká*, *valá*, and *viṣpátā* : *palitá* is equally common in B and C. Of these *uloká* is replaced during period C by *loká*.

§ 122. There are 13 other words² (see table C) which occur at least 5 times in the whole Rigveda : their use rapidly increases in each of the six periods. In A and B there are 29 occurrences : in C₁ and C₂ 75, in AV. 246. In the whole language there is no

* See Professor Arnold's essay on this subject, *Festgruss an Roth*, pages 145-148.—Ed.

¹ See Table, § 124.

² Including the group of words connected with *√lakṣ*.

more striking instance of development. Words occurring less often than 5 times in RV. shew just the same growth, but give nearly three times as many occurrences.

The following are the words and word-groups noted as containing *l*, but occurring in the Rigveda less than five times: those occurring in the Atharvaveda are too numerous to quote :

(a) Proper names: *apālā*, *ālīna*, *ilībīṣa*, *kalāṣa*, *kalā* 3, *kuliṣṭ*, *khelā*, *palastijamadagnī*, *plati*, *plāyogī*, *balbūthā*, *bhātānās*, *mātālī*, *mūdgala* 2, *mudgalānī* 2, *lōpamudrā*, *vibātī*, *sinīvālī* 4.

(b) Generic names of animal and vegetable substances, etc.: *āla* 'poison' in *ālākta*; *ūlapa* 'undergrowth'; *palāṣā*, a kind of tree, in *apalāṣā*, *supalāṣā*; *pippala*, a berry 3, and *supippala*, *bālbaja* in *balbajastukā*, a kind of grass; *libujā*, an ivy 2; *vīalkaṣā*, a plant; *ṣalmalī*, a tree 2; *ṣimbalā*, a fruit; *ṣīpāla*, a water-plant; *ūlūka* 'owl', and in *ūlūkayātu*, *ṣuculūkayātu*; *pipilā* 'ant', *plūṣi*, a gnat, *lodhā* 'fox'(?), *lopāṣā* 'jackal', *sālāvṛkā* 'jackal'(?). 2.

(c) Other words, in which *l* seems to belong to the radical element, but which do not belong to any recognized word-group: *akḥkhatikṛtya*, 'having shouted', *ātakam* 'in vain' 2, *alalābhāvat* 'rustling', of water, *alātrnā* (?) 2, *alāyia* (?), *udumbalā* (?), *ūba* 'placenta', and perhaps also in *anulbanā* 2, *aulānā* (?); *kalmalī* 'glimmer' (?) in *kalmalikin* (2), *kaṣapalakā*, *kīlāla*, 'drink', in *kīlālapā*, *kūla* 'nest' in *kulapā*, *kulāyayāt*, *kulāyīn*, *mahākulā*, *kūliṣa* 'axe' 2: *kulphā* 'knuckle', *kulyā* 'stream' 3, *kūla* 'precipice', *kaulitarā* (?), *khālu* 'truly', *khilyā* 'barren land' 2, *gāldā* (?), *jālāṣa* 'healing' 2, and in *jālāsabhesaja* 2, *jālpi* 'whispering' 2, *tālpa* 'bed' in *talpaṣṭvan*, *tilvīla* 'fruitful', and in *√tilvilāy*, *plāṣī* 'spleen' (?), *phaliṣā* 'basin' 4, *phalgūa* 'stammering' (?), *phāla* 'ploughshare' 2, *bhala* 'indeed', *māla* (?), *lalāma* 'spotted' (?) *lāṅgala* 'plough', *logā* 'clod' 2, *ṣilpā* in *suṣilpā* 'patterned' 2, *ṣulkā* 'purchase money' 2, *salatūka* (?) 2, *sīlika* (?) in *sīlikamadhyama*, *siālā* 'brother-in-law', *hlādika* 'cool', and in *hlādikāvat*.

(d) Verb-roots shewing *l*-forms only are few: *glā* 'be weary'; *mūl* 'wink'; *mlā* 'soften', and in *ānabhimlātavarna*; *lubh* 'be lustful'; parallel to *r* forms are *ulkā* 'glare' 2, *kālā* 'fraction' and *prakalavīd*, *kālā* 'time', *klōṣa* 'cry', *calācalā* 'staggering', *puḷā* 'many' in *pulukāma*, *pulvaghā*; *plu* 'swim', and in *plavā* 'boat'; *mūla* 'root' and in *sahāmūla*; *mluc* 'hide', *labh* 'seize' 3, and in *sulābhika*, *lip* 'anoint' 3, *lī* 'shoot' (?) and in *lāya*, *lōman* 'hair' 2, *lōhita* 'red' in *nūla-lohita*, *vālga* in *gatā-vālga*, *sahāsravalga* 3, *vispuliṅgakā* 'spark-throwing', *√vlag* 'pursue' 2, and *abhivlaṅgā*, *ṣalyā* 'arrow', *ṣūla* 'point', *sīlā* in *sīlāmāvat*.

(e) Suffixal *l* is not common: *-la kapilā*, *madhulā*, *staulā*: *-ala* in *āchandala*, *ūpala* (in *upalaprakṣīn*), *khargālā*, *khīgala*, *jāthala*, *trpāla* 2, *lāṅgala*, *ṣabāla*: in *-āla kīlāla* *caśāla* 2: in *-āla tilvīla* 2, *trdīla* (and in *ātrdīla*): in *-ula aṅgulā* in *daṣāṅgulā*: in *-ūla ṣiṣūla*: in *-vala ākrṣīvala*, *vidvalā*: in *-lyā pātalyā*, *māṅjalyā* *ṣāmulyā*: in *-lī kalmalī* and *ṣalmalī* 2. Of the above only *aṅgulā*, *ūpala*, *jāthala* shew parallel forms with *r*.

Of the 116 words and groups roughly arranged as above only 40 occur more than once in RV. : and as we have seen, there are only 25 other words and groups, each occurring at least five times. Nearly half therefore of the words containing *l* in RV. are ἀπαξ λεγόμενα.

§ 123. In period A then, *l* had almost disappeared, presumably under Iranian influence. Its use then rapidly advances, much more so than is the case with all the new linguals put together. Amongst the new words many were probably non-Aryan: but the list given supports the general view of the comparative grammarians, that the true tradition of the Indo-European *l* was not lost. For amongst the first words to reappear in the poetic vocabulary are *glóka* (κλώ), *uloká* (lūcus), root *valg* (*valgus*), *palitá* (πολιός), in all of which Indo-European *l* can be plausibly suggested: and three shew suffixal *-la*. *uloká* may be a half-way form between *roká* (cf. *rocaná* with a similar meaning) and *loká*. But in most words original *l* had been irrevocably changed to *r* before the reaction set in.¹

§ 124. Letter *l*, Table of occurrences.

Refer to §		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
120	A. <i>-miçla</i>	8	5	1	6	--	--	--	0
121	B. <i>kalāça</i>	13	27	8	35	--	2	6	8
	<i>glóka</i>	6	8	10	18	2	1	2	5
	<i>uloká</i>	9	5	8	13	3	1	--	4
	<i>valá</i>	3	4	15	19	2	--	--	2
	<i>bahulá</i>	4	7	5	12	2	1	11	14
	<i>kévala</i>	3	4	4	8	4	2	11	17
	<i>bála</i>	1	3	7	10	3	11	71	85
	<i>viçpālā</i>	0	--	6	6	--	--	--	0
	<i>√ valg</i>	3	2	1	3	1	--	6	7
	<i>nīla</i>	2	2	1	3	--	1	10	11
	<i>palitá</i>	0	2	3	5	1	--	4	5
	All in B	44	64	68	132	18	19	121	158
122	C. <i>ulú</i> (in <i>ulákhala</i>) ...	0	--	--	0	5	--	5	10
	<i>√ kalp</i>	1	--	3	3	4	13	57	74
	<i>√ kil</i> (<i>kilāsa</i> , <i>kilbiṣa</i>)	0	2	--	2	1	2	11	14
	<i>kīla</i>	0	--	4	4	4	3	2	9
	<i>khāla</i>	0	1	--	1	5	--	7	12
	<i>jālāṣa</i>	1	--	3	3	--	--	3	3
	<i>phāla</i>	0	--	1	1	2	3	10	15
	<i>balá</i>	1	--	3	3	1	1	16	18
	<i>√ bil</i> (<i>bīla</i> , etc.) ...	0	1	2	3	3	--	12	15
	<i>-maṅgalá</i>	0	--	2	2	--	6	10	16
	<i>√ lakṣ</i>	0	1	--	1	4	--	11	15
	<i>loká</i>	0	--	1	1	2	8	74	84
	<i>salilá</i>	0	--	2	2	2	6	28	36
	All in C	3	5	21	26	33	42	246	321
122	D. Words occurring less than five times in RV	11	5	50	55	75	49	733 ¹	857
All occurrences		66	79	140	219	126	110	1100 ²	1336

¹ See Table, § 124.

² These numbers are approximate.

F. Sandhi.

§ 125. Sandhi combination of vowels is everywhere progressive in the *Rigveda*. Under this heading we include here only external Sandhi, and internal Sandhi in compounds. Flexional Sandhi is more conveniently treated under the heading of flexion, but has been partly discussed already.

The frequency of Sandhi appears to depend entirely upon the first of the two vowels concerned, that is, upon the final vowel of the prior word or prior member of a compound, except in those cases in which *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*, are followed respectively by similar vowels: for instance *a r* combine just as freely as *a a*.

(a) External Sandhi.

§ 126. After final *a ā* Sandhi combination is regular in RV. and AV. The proportion of occurrences of hiatus (except at the caesura) declines regularly from 20 per cent. in period A to 5 per cent. in periods C₁, C₂.^{1,2}

§ 127. At the caesura hiatus after *a ā* is relatively more common: I have noted there 210 instances, elsewhere 447. In period A those metres which employ the caesura are rare as compared with period B, but the instances of hiatus there are almost equal. Hiatus apart from the caesura is almost twice as common in period A.²

§ 128. Where *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*, are followed by similar vowels respectively (of which the instances are not very numerous), combination is regular. Hiatus is, however, not uncommon, nor confined to any special period: the instances are about 15 per cent.²

§ 129. After final *i ī ū ū* hiatus is the rule. But when the first word is a pyrrhic, as *pāri*, *ānu*, *urū*, combination is rapidly progressive in RV., the proportion of combined forms being in the respective periods 18, 25, 33, 50, 63. In the great majority of instances we have prepositions followed by their nouns or verbs: and we can readily believe that this relationship favoured combination: but other words of the same metrical type seem to give the same results.²

§ 130. Otherwise combination after *i ī u ū* is quite rare, though somewhat more common in the periods C₁, C₂.²

§ 131. Where final *ah* is followed by the initial vowel *a*, hiatus is the rule in RV.: but combination is progressive.³

§ 132. There are several instances in RV. of combination in positions in which it is not permitted in classical Sanskrit. Where the second word is *iva*, it is simplest to suppose that *va* is to be read, even though it is not so written: see below under Particles, § 457.

§ 133. Combination of *e ai* with following vowel is rare and late. Examples will be found i. 59. 3; 79. 11; 85. 7; 118. 7(?); 162. 7; iii. 29. 3; v. 30. 3; 61. 9; vi. 9. 2; 48. 18; vii. 1. 19; 72. 3; Vāl. 10. 3; x. 75. 2; 79. 6; 85. 40; 145. 6; 161. 5; 166. 5.²

¹ For the AV. no complete collections have been made: see p. 204.

² See Table § 142.

§ 134. Combination of final *ah* with initial vowels other than *a*, and of final *āh*, is occasional, in the early hymns and the latest : somewhat similarly *am* or some other vowel followed by *m* with a following vowel, in which case it is often obscured in the text. Examples: *ah + a* ii. 20. 8; *ah + i* vii. 86. 4; *ah + u* x. 90. 4; *ah + r* x. 87. 15; *ah + o* v. 52. 14; *āh + a* i. 177. 4; *āh + u* iv. 24. 3; *am + a* i. 14. 3; iii. 59. 2; *am + u* x. 93. 10; *ām + ā* vii. 19. 5; *im + i* x. 20. 2; *um + a* x. 144. 5. The interesting combination *āñ + a* seems required x. 158. 2.¹

Instances also capable of other explanations are : *ah + a* vii. 41. 6²; x. 129. 6³; *ah + i* (ī) viii. 1. 26³; x. 86. 16, 17⁴; *āh + a* iii. 30. 21²; x. 51. 9²; *am + a* vii. 66. 8³; x. 135. 7³; *am + u* i. 161. 8²; *ām + r* vi. 17. 7.²

(b) Sandhi in composition.

§ 135. In compounds of which the first element ends in *a*, *ā*, Sandhi is the rule : uncontracted forms being almost entirely confined to period A, and to those words in which the second element begins with a heavy syllable. In the following cases only of compounds in *-aṣva* is resolution suggested by the metre : *istā-aṣva* i. 122. 13, *jirā-aṣva* i. 141. 12, *gyāvā-aṣva* v. 52. 1, *saptā-aṣva* v. 45. 9. Similarly *saptā-āsia* appears only in x. 40. 8. As in classical Sanskrit, *prāūga* (for *prā[y]uga*) is always uncombined.

Other examples of uncontracted compounds in RV. are *ācha-ukti* 4, *āchdra-ūdhan*, *indra-ūtā*, *uktha-arkā*, *ūrja-ad* (?), *kṛsnā-adhvan* 2, *kṣi-prā-iṣu*, *ghṛtā-anna* 2, *candrā-agra* 2, *tṛptā-añcu*, *dānā-apnaḥ*, *daanā-okah*, *devā-iddha*, *pra-itār*, *prā-iddha*, *ratha-ūdhā*, *viṣṭā-anta*, *sahasra-arghā*, *supra-ētu*, *svā-etu* : *ā-artuna*, *ā-iṣṭi*, *indra-agnī* (for *indrā-agnī*) 18, *tuā-ūta* 2. In AV. *prā-āpti*. Although *sapta-rṣi* is written, yet *saptarṣi* is to be read both in RV. and AV.⁵

§ 136. Monosyllabic elements in *i*-*u* (e. g. *dvi*-, *tri*-, *ni*-, *su*-) are not combined with dissimilar vowels except occasionally in the case of *su*-: similar vowels are only found after *su*-: here hiatus is more common in A, and combination is more common later. For *svīd*, *svāhā*, see above § 83; for *svār*, *svargā*, § 78; *su + rta* gives us *sūñṭa*, *su + itā* *suvitā*, both old words.

Longer elements followed by similar vowels are rare; combination seems to be required, as in *prātīti*, *pratītiā*, *prētīṣanī*. When dissimilar vowels follow, hiatus is required, except as in the next section.⁶

§ 137. Where the first element is a pyrrhic, and is followed by a dissimilar vowel, hiatus in the rule in period A, but combination rapidly gains ground. For *rtvīj*, *gāvīyūti*, see above § 83. In AV. hiatus is only noticed in *hāri-aṣva* 2.⁵

§ 138. Compounds of which *-ac*, *-añc* is the second element lose the initial *a* of this part in certain positions: the preced-

¹ Where, of course, the nasal represents merely the nasal coloring of a pure vowel in a true open syllable, and we are not to be misled by the *pada-pāṭha*.—Ed. ² As a Tristubh with extra syllable at the caesura.

³ Reading *yām* for *iyām*.

⁴ Reading *sā* for *sāh*.

⁵ See Table, § 142.

ing vowel being lengthened by compensation. In those forms in which *-ac* is retained we find *akudhríac*, *asmadríac*, *níac*, *niáñ-cana*, as in § 136. After pyrrhics *rjúac* only, but *dadhiác* and *dadhyác*, *pratiác* and *pratyáñc*, and *gvityác* as in § 137: the examples are included in the table under that section.¹

§ 139. Where the first element ends in *-as*, *-e*, *-o* there is no contraction.

§ 140. Prepositions followed by verbal nouns follow the rules just given, and the examples are included accordingly.

§ 141. For external Sandhi I have made a complete collection of the instances in RV., which, however, is too lengthy to publish now. For the AV. I have made no collection. Even in the RV. the metre is not always a decisive guide, and it is still less so in AV. There is no reason to suppose that the occurrences in AV. of hiatus are more in number than is represented by the calculation used,² in which they are reckoned as twice as many as those occurring in *C*₁ and *C*₂ together. After a more complete study of the metre of the RV. and AV., a complete list of the instances of hiatus would be in place. Benfey's calculation that hiatus is more frequent after *ná* 'like' than after *ná* 'not,' is sufficiently accounted for by the evidence that *ná* 'like' is an earlier word.³

For Sandhi in composition the requisite material is available in the respective *indices verborum*.

§ 142. Table of Sandhi variations.

Refer to §	EXTERNAL HIATUS.	A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C circa.
127	At caesura after <i>a</i> -----	61	24	50	74	4	3	--	20
	“ “ “ <i>ā</i> -----	30	14	20	34	3	1	--	12
126	Elsewhere “ <i>a</i> -----	216	38	62	100	17	15	--	95
	“ “ “ <i>ā</i> -----	55	26	21	47	3	4	--	20
	All occurrences after <i>a ā</i> .	362	102	153	255	27	23	--	150
128	At caesura, <i>ī ī ū ū</i> before similar vowels-----	10	2	8	10	3	--	--	9
	Elsewhere before similar vowels-----	14	3	8	11	8	2	--	30
129	After pyrrhics in <i>ī, ū</i> before dissimilar vowels-----	87	58	76	184	30	15	--	130
	EXTERNAL COMBINATION.								
129	Final <i>ī ū</i> of pyrrhics with dissimilar vowels-----	19	20	38	58	30	25	--	150
130	Elsewhere final <i>ī ū</i> with dis- similar vowels-----	6	1	5	6	4	3	--	21
	All occurrences after <i>ī ū</i> .	25	21	43	64	34	28	--	171

¹ See Table § 142.

² See above, p. 204.

³ See below, § 457.

Refer to §	EXTERNAL COMBINATION, continued.	A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C circa.
131	<i>aḥ</i> with <i>a</i>	26	13	22	35	10	13	--	65
133	<i>e, ai</i> with vowel	4	--	7	7	4	4	--	25
134	Other irregular combinations	9	1	1	2	--	3	--	?
INTERNAL HIATUS (uncon- tracted compounds).									
135	After <i>a, ā</i>	49	3	9	12	1	1	1	3
136	<i>su-</i> with similar vowel	9	3	--	3	--	--	--	0
137	After pyrrhics in <i>ī ū</i> with dissimilar vowels	41	8	15	23	9	3	2	14
INTERNAL COMBINATION (con- tracted compounds).									
136	<i>su-</i> with similar vowel	6	4	5	9	--	4	4	8
	" with dissimilar vowels	--	1	2	3	1	1	18	20
137	Final <i>-ī -ū</i> of pyrrhics with dissimilar vowels	7	5	12	17	2	5	24	31

§ 143. There are numerous other points in which forms more archaic than those of our recension are indicated by the metre, but they seem not to throw light on the date of the hymns in which they appear:

- (a) for *pāvāká* read throughout *pavāká*.
- (b) for *puruṣeन्द्रá* read throughout *purucandrá*.
- (c) for *chardīḥ* read throughout *chadiḥ*.
- (d) the form *īyám* is sometimes monosyllabic: see Grassmann.
- (e) *pr̥thivī* 'earth' is disyllabic, i. 191. 6; vii. 34. 7; 99. 3.
- (f) for *ukthá* read *ucátha* ii. 11. 2; v. 4. 7, and perhaps vi. 24. 7; viii. 2. 30; x. 24. 2.
- (g) for *márta* read *mártia* i. 63. 5; i. 77. 2; ii. 23. 7; vi. 15. 8; vii. 4. 3; 25. 2; 100. 1; viii. 60. 7; ix. 94. 3; x. 63. 13.
- (h) doublets with a long vowel in the penult may be suspected in the case of the following words: *apām* 8 times: *īṣirá*: *gávām*: *jánān*: *nárah*¹: *bṛhát* (vi. 24. 3), *rátha* in *candráratha* i. 141. 12; vi. 65. 2, and *rathīḥ* i. 77. 3, and in the superlative ending in *-tama*.

(k) the first syllable of *nṛṇám* is always long.

(l) a short vowel is frequently to be read in place of a long before the verb-suffix *-nā, -nī*: e. g. in *pr̥ṇāná, dr̥ṇāná*: and in the dual, e. g. in *ásāthe, ásāte*.

(m) final *-nn* before a vowel only makes position where the second *-n* represents a lost consonant, e. g. in 3 pers. pl. of secondary tenses, and in the nom. sing. of participles. Otherwise *-n* should be restored, and especially in the locative singular, e. g. *sásmīn ādhan*, i. 152. 6, etc.

§ 144. It may be convenient to notice here other exceptions to the simple metrical rule of the R̥gveda that a long vowel or a short vowel followed by two consonants (amongst which *n, m*,

¹ See below, § 216.

h, *h* are included) gives a heavy syllable, and a short vowel not so followed, a light syllable.

(a) *ch* is almost always to be read as a double consonant *cch*.

(b) *ks* sometimes counts as a single consonant: e. g. *nákṣan-taḥ* vi. 63. 3.

(c) *ñ m h* are not always taken into account: e. g. *ánhasaḥ* i. 58. 9, *túbhyañ çanṣi* x. 148. 4, *ṛtasāpaḥ satyāḥ* vi. 50. 2.

(d) a final vowel left standing before a vowel is regularly shortened: e. g. *kā asmai* i. 77. 1, *nārī āpāṣi* i. 85. 9, *vājī drvā* vii. 44. 4: but not *ā* of the dual where it is left standing according to rule before *u*.

CHAPTER II. NOUN-INFLEXION. § 145-286.

A. Stems in -a, -ā.

§ 145. Masculine and neuter nouns in -a form the instrum. sing. occasionally in -ā. We may exclude from consideration those words which as adverbs retain the older form in all periods: such are *anā*, *sānā*, and perhaps others.

Masculine forms (Lanman, pp. 334-5): *ghanā* 4, *ghrñā* 5, *cam-asā*, *tuā* 5 (Gr.), *dānā* 4, *yajñā* 3, *hāvā*, *himā* 2. Less certain are *krānā* 7, and *tuā* (*tvā*-) in the following compounds: *tuēṣita*, *tuōta* 20, *tuōti* 3, *tuādatta* 2, *tuādāta* 4, *tuāvṛdha* 3, *tuāhata*. 66 exx., of which 47 are in A, one only in C.

Neuter forms (Lanman, pp. 335-6). Of these *mahitvā* 40 seems to become crystallized and is found almost equally often in all parts. From other words we have 27 forms only in RV. and AV., chiefly in periods A and B.

Although even in period A the forms in -ena are nearly three times as frequent as those m. and n. in -ā, yet the number of the former increases rapidly in the succeeding periods: which seems to indicate a growing predilection for the use of this case, even before the passive construction became usual.¹

§ 146. 'Homophonous' instrumentals. Much more common are similar forms from feminine stems in -ā (Lanman, p. 358). From Lanman's list we may withdraw as uncertain *agriyā*, *isudhyā*, *gūhā*, *dvitā*, the connexion of which words with this class is doubtful.² Several words still remain as to which we may doubt whether they were felt by the Vedic writers as nouns or as adverbs, e. g. *īrmā*, *samanā*. We may add to the list *bandhūtā* iii. 60. 1; x. 144. 5, and the corresponding forms from

¹ See Table § 164.

² There is also only one occurrence of *tanyatā*, not three, as L. states.

radical *-ā* stems (Lanman, p. 447). The whole no. of forms in RV. then appears as 229, in AV. 8: in periods A and B they are equally common.

The corresponding forms in *-ayā* are decidedly more numerous in RV.; I have counted 362, not including the form *ayā*. In A and B these forms are half as common again as those in *-ā*: in C₁ twice as common: and afterwards they are almost exclusively used.¹

§ 147. Lanman suggests *a-ā*, *ā-ā* as the original case forms: the latter would next become *a-ā* by the rule *vocalis ante vocalem*. Of the first form he finds a trace in *mahitvā* viii. 25. 18: and though it is easier to read *mahitvandā*, yet the fact that we have other such pairs of forms still makes it likely that *-andā* is an experimental form of instr. sing. for the masc. and neuter, parallel to *-ayā* for the feminine: for the “stem” *-tvana* see below § 310.

The longer survival of the feminine instrumentals in *-ā* is, as Lanman points out, largely restricted to the feminine abstract nouns in *-tā* and *-iā*, *-yā*. Apart from dissimilation, which works in the latter case, nouns thus forming a class have probably more resisting power: and we may compare the feminine abstract nouns in *-ti*, which likewise maintain somewhat longer the similar instrumental in *-tī*. See below § 181.

§ 148. Masc. and fem. duals in *-ā*. These, whether from stems in *-a*, *-ā* or from consonantal and other stems, are regular in RV. before consonants and *-u*, and at the end of even *pādas*. Even in C₁ C₂ the forms in *-au* are only one quarter of the whole. Nevertheless 28 such forms occur in the periods A and B, as compared with some thousands of the *-ā* forms: and these are not to be explained away upon any hypothesis of appended verses or corruption of the text. The poets of book v. (the *Ātreyaḥ*) would seem first to have accepted the innovation.

The passages in which *-au* occurs are i. 95. 7; 120. 2; 140. 3; ii. 27. 15; 30. 6; iii. 54. 16; 55. 11; iv. 41. 2; v. 34. 8 (*bis*); 36. 6 (*bis*); 37. 5; 47. 3; 66. 1; 68. 4; vi. 59. 5; 60. 14 (*bis*); vii. 70. 4; 84. 2; 93. 2; viii. 35. 4, 5, 6; ix. 70. 4; x. 65. 5; 113. 7; besides 55 occurrences in C₁ and C₂. In all, 83 exx., of which Lanman gives 2 on p. 340, 48 on p. 341, 4 and 28 on p. 576. The form *aṣṭāu* ‘eight’ is not included: see below § 272.²

§ 149. The dual in *-ā* (masc.). This is a genuine old form, of which there are 17 occurrences, all in A.³ *-ā* at the end of an odd *pāda* before *r* (ii. 3. 7) is a graphic peculiarity; *-ā* shortened where it stands before another vowel with hiatus (vi. 63. 1; 67. 8) is in accordance with general rules; see above § 144. The numeral *aṣṭā* appears as a dual in RV., and the form *aṣṭā* rests only on the authority of the *padapāṭha* in x. 27. 15. In the compounds *īndra-nāyā* 15, *mitrarājānā* we find *-a* rather later.³

¹ Lanman's list includes the pronouns *imaū*, *etaū*, *taū*, *yaū*, etc.: but we have to add *kaū* x. 90. 11.

² See Table § 164.

³ Lanman, p. 342.

§ 150. Instrum. etc. du. For the form *-bhiām* see above § 89.

§ 151. The gen. loc. du. is found occasionally in *-oḥ* (Lanman, 344). This variant possibly belongs to the periods A B only.¹

§ 152. Nom. voc. plur. masc. in *-āsah*. (Lanman, pp. 344 seq.) Even in period A the form *-āḥ* is half as common again; in B₁ and B₂ it is twice as common: in C *-āsah* rapidly dies out.¹

In several passages Lanman suggests that *-āsah* should be read by way of emendation for *-āḥ*: but it seems hardly probable that any Vedic recension should have removed in some half-dozen verses a form which occurs more than 1000 times in RV. For *āḡuāc̐vatamāḥ*, which is clearly the correct reading in v. 41. 4, cf. above §§ 136, 143 (h). In iv. 37. 4; v. 41. 9; vii. 35. 14=x. 53. 5; x. 78. 6; x. 94. 11, the alteration is somewhat favoured by the metre, but in four cases out of the five the defective syllable is missed at the caesura, and a metrical irregularity is therefore not improbable: whilst in the remaining case (v. 41. 9) even the proposed correction would not give a regular verse.

In these passages the correct number of syllables can also be restored by our reading *-aah* or *-aāḥ*: but even so this would be no evidence of an earlier form, since the few examples are scattered over all parts of the RV. For the supposed trisyllabic forms of *devāḥ*, *dānāḥ*, chiefly found in very late hymns, any explanation must be looked for in the first syllable.

For a form in *-asah* there is even less warrant. *kīstāsah* in the two passages quoted by Lanman probably has *ī* resolved (see above § 68), but is otherwise regular: *dar̥ṣatāsah*, ix. 101. 12, presents no metrical difficulty.

Finally Oldenberg, *Prol.* p. 176, suggests in a number of cases the resolution of the *ā* in *-āsah*. Of these i. 127. 7; vi. 67. 10, in which *kīstāsah* is to be read, have been already referred to. In vi. 44. 8 the metre is Virāj: in vi. 63. 7 *āḡuāsah* is preferable.² In the five following passages *mārtiāsah* is to be read, see above § 143. Most of the remaining passages admit of similar explanations.

If the RV. gives any trace of an earlier form, it must I think be in the refrain of the Gṛtsamadāḥ, *bṛhád vadema vidátḥe svī-rāḥ*: the double use of which, namely both in Triṣṭubh and Jagatī verses, may very possibly be traditional.

§ 153. Nom. pl. fem. in *-āsah* (Lanman, p. 362). This is rare, and if anything less common in the earliest period. As almost all the forms are adjectives or participles, the question seems to be one rather of syntax than of accident, and the Greek adjectives of two terminations may be compared.

Where the resolution *-aah* is proposed, we can in viii. 64. 8 read *us(a)rāḥ*: the other instances suggested by Lanman are in hymns of the latest period, and at any rate have no historical value. The irregular value of *vayāḥ* vii. 40. 5 is noticeable, but as it corresponds to *vayām*, i. 165. 15, the termination is not concerned.¹

¹ See Table, § 164.

² See above, § 85.

§ 154. Acc. pl. masc. and fem. The form *-ān* shews no resolution of *-ā* : in the words *çukrá devá* the resolutions *çuk(a)rá*, *dayivá* are always more probable : in x. 93. 2, *b* and *d* resolutions must perhaps be looked for, but cannot be relied upon. For the feminine *-āh* resolution is only slightly more probable. Lanman¹ suggests five passages : in viii. 46. 26 *usaráh* is more probable ; in i. 63. 5 and iv. 26. 7, the resolution of the first vowel in *kásthāh*, *mūrāh* respectively. But in the last two instances the resolution of the *-ā* of the suffix is not unlikely, and it seems required in *kāāh* vii. 60. 9 and *manīśāāh* x. 26. 1. Yet at the most we have 4 exx. out of almost 400 occurrences.

§ 155. Nom. acc. pl. neut. It is not till the period C, that the form in *-āni* is equally common with that in *-ā*. The accretion of the *-ni* seems precisely parallel to that which occurs in 1. sing. subj. of verbs. There is no transition to the *-an* declension, for the neuters of that declension are far less numerous, and themselves make the same change.²

Of the combinations *-ā -āni*, *-āni -ā* at the end of successive words, the former is more common in the later period : this perhaps points to a tendency towards the formation of compounds.

The emendation of *-ā* to *-āni* makes the metre smoother in several passages (Lanman, p. 348) : yet it is *a priori* in a high degree improbable. For *ukthā* viii. 2. 30 the simplest alteration is to *ucāthā* : see above § 143(f).

The shortening of final *ā* before another vowel, with hiatus, e. g. ix. 88. 2³, does not point to a form in *-a'* : *āha* is probably felt as from a stem in *-an*.

§ 156. Instrum. plural m. and n. The form in *-aiḥ* is more common throughout the RV. : but its progress is not quite regular, for it is relatively least common in B₂^{2,5}.

Resolution of *ai* in *-aiḥ* is discussed by Lanman, p. 350 : in ii. 11. 2 ; v. 4. 7 ; x. 24. 2 *ucāthaiḥ* is probable : again, in i. 129. 8 *at(a)raiḥ* : but in viii. 90. 10 ; 92. 13 the resolution of *ai* seems to be required. See also § 72.

§ 157. Dat. abl. pl. in *-ebhiḥ*. See above § 99.

§ 158. Genitive plural m. n. (Lanman, pp. 351 seq.). For the forms in *ānaam* see above §§ 61, 73. For forms in *-anām* there is no evidence at all.

§ 159. Genitive plur. in *-ān*. Such forms, though rare, undoubtedly occur in the earlier parts of the RV., as also in *-ūn* from one *-u* stem, and in *ṛn* from one stem in *ṛ*. There seem to be also a few forms in *-ām*, but these are less certain. The occurrences noted are : *jānān* i. 50. 6 : *devān* i. 71. 3 ; vi. 11. 3 ; x. 64. 14 ; and almost certainly in vi. 51. 2 as emendation : *mānuṣān* i. 50. 5 ; *manuṣyān* vi. 47. 16 ; *mārtān* iv. 2. 3, 11 ; *rāthān* ii. 8. 1 ; *aktūn* x. 1. 2 ; *nṛ'n* i. 121. 1 ; iii. 14. 4 ; iv. 2. 15 ; v. 7. 10 ; *carāthām* i. 70. 3 ; *yūthiām* Vāl. 8. 4 ; *vanām* x. 46. 5 ; *çāsām* ii. 23. 12 ; *kīnsānām* x. 142. 1.⁴ This last instance, the only one in C, may, as Lanman (p. 353) suggests, be a *haplographia*.

¹ P. 363.⁴ See § 144d.² See Table, § 164.⁵ See § 45.³ Lanman, p. 348.

§ 160. The nom. sing. fem. in *-ā* several times occurs with shortening and hiatus before the initial vowel of the next word : and it stands in contrast to the dual in *-ā*, not (as Lanman, p. 356) in the greater frequency of hiatus (for we cannot tell how often *āv* of the text may not represent an original hiatus), but by its conforming more often to the rule *vocalis ante vocalem*.

Lanman doubtfully suggests resolution to *-aa* in three passages : in vii. 75. 4, such resolution would be unmetrical, and in the very late hymn x. 162. (1. 2) it certainly has no historical importance.

§ 161. Resolution of the acc. fem. sing. seems possible in i. 173. 2 ; iv. 30. 9 ; viii. 61. 7 : for *kāsthaam*, vii. 93. 3, see above § 65 : for *vayām* i. 165. 15, above § 103. Cf. acc. pl. fem. above § 154.

§ 162. Feminine dative forms in *-yai* (Lanman, p. 359) may suggest an earlier formation : but they occur twice only, in period B₂ (i. 54. 11 ; 113. 6). The whole group of forms in *-āyai*, *-āyāḥ*, *-āyām* is comparatively rare in period A : see below § 198.

§ 163. Other feminine forms have been discussed above in connection with the corresponding masculine forms. Of masculine words in *-ā* (except *ā* radical) we have only the slightest traces in RV. : e. g. *uṣānā* pr. n. (Whitney, Gr. 355a).

§ 164. Table shewing flexional forms from stems *-a*, *-ā*.

Refer to §		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
	<i>-a</i> , <i>-ā</i> stems, etc.								
145	Instr. masc. in <i>-ā</i>	47	7	11	18	1	--	--	1
	“ neut. “ : <i>mahitvā</i> ..	10	6	12	18	3	2	7	12
	“ “ “ : remainder ..	11	3	10	13	1	--	2	3
	“ all m. n. in <i>-ā</i>	68	16	33	49	5	2	9	16
	“ m. n. in <i>-ena</i> (<i>-enā</i>) ..	195	106	198	304	74	64	579	717
146	“ fem. in <i>-ā</i> ('homophonous') ..	108	36	67	103	14	4	8	26
	“ “ “ <i>-ayā</i>	158	58	87	145	29	30	116	175
148	Dual n. v. a. in <i>-au</i> (all stems)	11	5	12	17	35	20	320?	375?
149	“ masc. in <i>-a</i>	17	--	--	0	--	--	--	0
	“ “ in compounds	13	--	2	2	1	--	--	1
151	“ gen. loc. in <i>-oh</i>	3	1	3	4	--	1	--	1
152	Nom. pl. masc. in <i>-āsah</i>	492	173	282	455	89	22	57	168
	“ “ in <i>-āḥ</i>	774	390	600	990	257	177	1366	1800
153	“ “ fem. in <i>-āsah</i>	5	--	7	7	2	--	4	6
155	“ acc. pl. in <i>-ā</i>	610	251	424	675	110	24	172	306
	“ “ “ “ <i>-āni</i>	278	141	268	409	84	25	278	387
	“ “ “ “ combn. <i>-ā-āni</i> ..	54	25	45	70	16	9	?	75?
	“ “ “ “ <i>-āni-ā</i>	73	22	35	57	12	3	?	45?
156	Instr. m. n. pl. in <i>-ebhiḥ</i> ..	262	91	157	248	26	12	43	81
	“ “ “ “ <i>-aiḥ</i>	304	142	178	320	40	26	226	292
159	Gen. pl. in <i>-ān</i> , <i>-ūn</i> , <i>-īn</i> ..	8	3	4	7	--	--	--	0
	“ “ “ <i>-ām</i>	1	1	2	3	1	--	--	1
163	Masc. nom. s. <i>uṣānā</i>	2	3	3	6	--	--	--	0

B. Radical stems in -ā, -a.

§ 165. There are numerous nouns in the Veda, chiefly compounds, in which the final syllable appears to be identical with a verbal root in -ā or -a: of these some are declined entirely like nouns in suffixal -a -ā: others shew a distinctive scheme of declension, similar to that of other root-nouns.

The distinctive forms most commonly found are the nom. voc. acc. masc. and fem. singular and dual, and the nom. voc. masc. and fem. plural: and they are almost entirely confined to monosyllables and adjectives.

It is reasonable to conclude that we have here the remains of a noun-system with stem ending in -ā for the strong cases, -a for the weak cases and the neuter gender. The forms with -a stem fell under the influence of the declension in suffixal -a in the masc. and neut. genders; those with -ā stem, under the influence of that in suffixal -ā in the feminine: with the result that the declension as a whole became confused and perished, whilst many words passed completely to the suffixal declension.

§ 166. Before attempting to trace the history of any change or transition that may have taken place in the period of the RV. and AV., it is necessary to ascertain how far the transition (if any) was completed before the earliest period of the RV.

Putting aside more or less isolated occurrences, we find first that neuter substantives and adjectives follow entirely the suffixal declension. Examples are very numerous: e. g. *kkā*, *dyukṣā*, *sumnā*, *vṛtrahā*, *antārikṣa*.

So also do feminine substantives of more than one syllable: e. g. *prajā*, *svadhā*, *ṣraddhā*. Lanman infers for some words of this type a nom. sing. in -āh, e. g. *godhāh* x. 28. 11, *svadhā* i. 165. 6: but his argument (p. 445) seems to me to lack solid foundation. To this class also belong *dhyā* and 2 *jyā*, both probably originally disyllables: and (apparently) the feminine adjective compounds of *gopā*.

§ 167. Nor are examples wanting in the masculine gender, chiefly substantives: all compounds in -gva, viz. *atithigvā*, *ētagva*, *dācagva*, *nāvagva*, and *purogavā*: some in -ga, *patamgā*, *saṁgā*, *svagā*, and *svargā*: and besides these *dyukṣā*, *tristhā*, *gosthā*, *saṁsthā*, and *sukhā*. In some other words which occur but rarely, e. g. *ajā*, *ekajā*, the hypothesis of transition within the Vedic period is not inadmissible: but the occurrences are not included in the tables.

§ 168. The words that remain shew in the great majority of instances forms that are either distinctly radical, or are common to the radical and suffixal paradigms. They are chiefly monosyllabic masculine and feminine substantives, as *gā*, *dā*, *kṣā*, *gnā*: and participial compounds ending in -gā, -jā, -dā, -dhā, -pā 'oversee,' -pā 'drink,' -sā, -sthā. Full particulars are given by Lanman, pp. 434-453.

§ 169. The distinctive forms in more or less regular use are as follows : nom. voc. sing. m. and f. in *-āḥ*, *-aah* : acc. s. masc. in *-ām*, *-aam*, fem. in *-aam* : dat. sing. m. in *-e*, *-ai* : gen. abl. s. m. and f. in *-aḥ* *-āḥ* : nom. voc. acc. dual in *-aā* : nom. voc. masc. and nom. voc. acc. fem. pl. in *-aah* : and masc. instr. pl. in *-ābhīḥ*, dat. abl. pl. in *-ābhyah*, loc. in *-āsu*.

The resolved forms are fairly common in this declension ; see above § 63 : and since they are rarely if ever found in the suffixal declension, we need not hesitate to treat as distinctive such forms as do occur. In the weak cases we find both *-a* and *ā* : of these only the first can claim to be primitive.

Closely parallel to the case formation is that of the superlatives in *-ātama*.

Forms in use common to both declensions are : acc. fem. sing. in *-ām* ; duals in *-ā* *-au* : nom. masc. and fem. and acc. fem. plural in *-āḥ* : the occasional resolution *-aah* seems to vouch for the last as a radical form. The extreme rarity of some cases is remarkable, especially the locative singular and the acc. masc. plural.

The tables shew the history of the distinctive radical forms as enumerated above : it appears that the nom. sing. m. and f. is equally common in all parts, the acc. masc. is most common in periods B₁ and B₂ ; for which an explanation is not easy to find. Of the other forms some are more common in A, some in B : but owing to the small number of occurrences, all that can be safely affirmed is that all are practically confined to these periods, and have disappeared in period C.

In AV. hardly any radical forms are found except the nom. sing. masc. and fem. of participial adjectives.¹

§ 170. It appears then that not much room is left for transition within the Vedic period. The following are possible instances in the cases as yet discussed :

Nom. sing. m. : *agregāḥ* ix. 86. 45 ; *adhrīyah* (?) v. 7. 10 ; *anānudāḥ* i. 53. 8 ; ii. 21. 4 ; 23. 11 ; *dānudāḥ* ix. 97. 23 ; *apnasthāḥ* vi. 67. 3 ; *purunīsthāḥ* v. 1. 6 ; perhaps *paṇṣāḥ* v. 41. 1 ; and about 22 examples in AV. and two vocatives.

Nom. sing. fem. : *madhudhā* iii. 61. 5 ; *sanajā* iii. 39. 2 ; about 10 exx. in AV.

Acc. sing. m. : *anānudām* x. 38. 5 ; *gopām* x. 61. 10 ; *trīṣṭhām* i. 34. 5 ; *madhupām* v. 32. 8 ; and 4 exx. in AV.

Dat. s. m. : *rathesthāya* viii. 4. 13.

Abl. s. m. : *ṛcyaḍāt* x. 39. 8.

Nom. fem. dual *pūrvajā* vii. 53. 2 ; *su-āsasthé* x. 13. 2.

Nom. pl. masc. : *priyasāsah* ix. 97. 38.

Instr. pl. masc. : in *-ebhīḥ* : *tuṁvigrébhīḥ* i. 140. 9 ; *mīthó-avadyaḥ* x. 67. 8 ; *ratnadhébhīḥ* iv. 34. 8 ; 35. 7 ; and one in AV.

Ditto : in *-aiḥ* : *ātaiḥ* ix. 5. 5 ; and *dhanasaiḥ* x. 67. 7.

Dat. pl. masc. : *pūrvajābhyah* x. 14. 15.

¹ See Table, § 175.

Loc. pl. masc. : *draviṇodēṣu* i. 53. 1.¹

§ 171. Although these forms are not very common, the table shews clearly that their use increases steadily: and the forms of the weak cases (10 in RV.) are relatively, though not absolutely, far more common than those of the strong cases (18 in RV.). Further we have the following "suffixal" forms in cases in which no certain and distinctive radical forms occur :

Instr. sing. fem. : *kṣmayā* i. 55. 6 ; v. 84. 3 ; vii. 46. 3 ; x. 61. 7 ; 89. 3.

Accus. pl. masc. : *tapojān* x. 154. 5 ; *ṛtapān* x. 27. 6 ; AV. 2.

Gen. pl. masc. : *sākamjānām* i. 164. 15 ; *dvijānām* AV.

The acc. fem. pl. forms in *-āh* seem not rightly reckoned as suffixal forms, as there are several instances of resolution ; cf. the voc. masc. sing. But it will still be the case that in the RV. transition is fairly actively at work in the weak cases of participial compounds, and that in AV. it begins to affect the strong cases.¹

§ 172. The abl. neut. sing. occurs with *ā* apparently resolved in *antāriksaat* x. 158. 1 ; and *sadhāsthaat* viii. 11. 7 : and once only from an *-a* stem, *parākāat* x. 22. 6 (Lanman, p. 338). As however in the other cases generally the neuter nouns have gone over to the suffixal declension, these resolutions can hardly be signs of a radical declension.

§ 173. We have also a few masculine nom. forms used as neuters, quoted by Lanman, p. 445. Like the fem. nom. pl. in *-āsaḥ*, these forms represent a syntactical experiment : we may compare the Latin *felix audax*.

§ 174. For the monosyllabic infinitives in *-ai*, see below § 356.

§ 175. Table shewing distinctive forms from stems in radical *-ā*, *-a*.

Refer to		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
169	Nom. sing. masc. in <i>-āḥ</i> , <i>-aah</i>	98	60	75	135	24	15	55	94
	{ Voc. " " " "	18	2	1	3	--	--	--	0
	Acc. " " " <i>-ām</i> , <i>-aam</i>	31	25	39	64	11	4	9	24
	Gen. " " <i>-āḥ</i> , <i>-āḥ</i> . . .	1	--	1	1	--	--	--	0
(a)	Plural <i>-ābhiḥ</i> , <i>-ābhyaḥ</i> , <i>-āsu</i>	4	--	2	2	--	--	--	0
	Superlatives in <i>-ātama</i> . . .	25	1	3	4	--	--	--	0
	Dual and nom. pl. masc. resolved	8	1	1	2	--	--	--	0
	{ Dative singular in <i>-e</i>	3	2	3	5	1	--	--	1
	All forms in (a)	90	31	50	81	12	4	9	25
(b)	{ Nom. sing. fem. in <i>-āḥ</i> , <i>-aah</i>	5	3	5	8	5	--	5	10
	Gen. abl. sing. in <i>-āḥ</i> , <i>-āḥ</i> . .	4	3	5	8	1	--	--	1
	{ Nom. acc. du. pl. resolved . .	4	1	1	2	--	1	--	1
	All forms in (b)	13	7	11	18	6	1	5	12
	All radical forms	201	98	136	234	42	20	69	131
170	Suffixal forms of above cases . .	8	5	13	18	2	--	39	41
171	Instr. s. fem. : acc. pl. masc. : gen. pl. masc. : suffixal forms	2	--	3	3	2	1	3	6

¹ See Table, § 175.

C. Stems in -i, -ī, -ī, -u, -ū.¹

§ 176. On account of numerous parallelisms it is convenient to consider these stems together. By -ī stems we denote Lanman's B class, or derivative -ī stems, whether oxytone or not : by -ī stems, Lanman's C class, the radical class of classical Sanskrit. In some cases the gender influences the form, and it is an open question whether the feminine abstract nouns in -ti did not originally form a distinct class. The words *jany-* *paty-* *sakhy-* have a peculiar declension in more than one point, and perhaps should be classed together as a -y class.

Where the stem-vowel is followed by another vowel it may or may not retain its syllabic character : in the -ī -ū declensions it almost invariably does so ; but in the -u stems, very seldom. The character of the preceding syllable often determines this point, and it has therefore been treated above, §§ 81, 82, 86, 97, 98, and will only be referred to incidentally now.

C. i. Stems in -i, -u.

§ 177. Nom. sing. masc. fem. From stems in -i, -u, nominatives in -ih, -uh are regular : but *vī* 'bird' has nom. s. *vēh* five times, in various parts of RV. : so once *āpēh* x. 83. 6 (Lanman, p. 375). From -ī stems nom. -ī is regular, connecting this declension with that in suffixal -ā. Feminine nouns somewhat confuse the stems : thus from *jāni* (or *jany*) we have *jānī* ; from *bhūmi*, *bhūmih* regularly, but once *bhūmī* (and so in some other cases) : from *ārāti vartanī*, once each, forms in -ih. All these variants are merely sporadic.

§ 178. Acc. sing. masc. and fem. The regular forms are -im, -um respectively : and from -ī stems -īm. A few variants similar to those of the nominative case are mentioned by Lanman (pp. 378, 407), and have no importance.

§ 179. Nom. acc. sing. neut. The stem is used without case-ending. The -u form occasionally appears as -ū : *urū*, *purū* 12, *mīthū* 2. The occurrences are most often in period A.¹

§ 180. Instrum. sing. masc. and neut. The forms are -iā, -yā, -inā : (-uā), -vā, -unā respectively. For the value of the semi-vowels see above, §§ 82, 97. For an isolated and doubtful form in -ī, see Lanman, p. 379.

As far as the -ī stems are concerned, -inā is established in the whole Vedic period, except that the stems *paty-* *sakhy-* shew *pātyā*, *sākhyā* : as is also the case in classical Sanskrit. The development of the form in -inā from an earlier -iā, -yā cannot be looked upon as a transition to the unimportant -in class : the use of the -n element is parallel to its use in the -a declension. Only a few isolated stems besides those named shew occasional -iā, -yā in Veda. The following forms may be considered as

¹ See Table, § 210.

representing such change as was still in process : *pátinā* iv. 57. 1 and AV. twice : *bḥhaspátinā* viii. 85. 15 ; x. 68. 10 ; and AV. 5 times : *gópatinā* AV. : *rayīṇā* x. 122. 3. None of these forms occur in period A.

The *-u* stems present a different picture. The whole number of forms in *-unā* is indeed the same in all periods : but the forms in *-vā* rapidly diminish in number, and forms in *-unā* from the same stems increase. As transition forms we can recognize particularly *krátunā* 12, and *paçúnā*, and *mádhunā* (neut.).¹

§ 181. The corresponding feminine nouns in *-i* shew regularly *-ī* in periods A B, and *-iā -yā* in period C. A form in *-ī* is not uncommon in the earliest hymns. It is then plain that *-ī* is not the result of contraction ; *-ī -i* are the earliest forms, and the latter corresponds to the 'homophonous' instrumentals of the *-ā* class. Two forms quoted in *-inā* are presumably accidental. From the *-u* stems we have hardly any forms : but a few adverbs in *-uyā* appear in all parts.

As distinctions of gender do not directly influence declension (except in the neuter nom. voc. acc.), I hazard the conjecture that the forms in *-ī -i* originally belonged only to the *nomina actionis* in *-ti* : and that the instrumental in *-ti* existed first as a gerund, and only gradually developed a full declension. The change from *-ti* to *-ī* may in that case be due to the influence of the 'homophonous' instrumentals.

From feminine stems in *-i* we have *-iā -yā* regularly, *-ī -i* only in the case of *çámī, suçámī*, which are also *nomina actionis*.¹

§ 182. Dative feminine singular. In the periods A and B the forms *ūtī, vītī* are used as datives or infinitives, and *suastī* is used in the same way in all periods, though the instances in AV. have not been collected. The forms are no doubt the same as the instrumental forms in *-ī, -i*.¹

§ 183. Dative masc. neut. We may assume for the moment on the analogy of the instrumental forms older forms in *-ye, -ve* : later in *-aye, -ave*. If this is a true account the change was complete in the *-i* declension before the Vedic period, only the *-y* stems *paty- sakhy-* shewing the forms *pátye, sákhye*, as is also the case in classical Sanskrit. The *-u* declension again lags behind, and gives us several forms in *-ue, -ve*, but only rarely after period A. Datives neuter hardly occur, but the normal forms for the Veda are doubtless *-aye, -ave*. Of the later declension in *-une* we have two examples : *mádhune* iv. 45. 3 (in an early hymn), and *kaçípune* AV. The feminine datives all give *-aye, -ave*.¹

§ 184. Abl. gen. sing. and nom. voc. acc. plural, masc. and fem. We have two forms in *-yaḥ*, viz., *aryáḥ ávyaḥ*. These we may again suppose to be older forms : to the corresponding forms in *-vaḥ* the *-u* declension adheres as usual till a later period. Such

¹ See Table, § 210.

forms are not found from the stems *jany-*, *paty-*, *sakhy-*, although in the plural nom. at least the metre would have preserved them : and this difference forbids us to identify these stems altogether with the older *-i* declension. The forms are distributed as follows : *aryáh* gen. sing. 38, nom. pl. masc. 16, fem. 4, acc. pl. masc. 7, fem. 4 ; *ávyah* gen. sing. 18 : in all, 87 examples.

The *-u* stems correspond as far as the plural is concerned. Exx. : *mádhvah* nom. pl. masc. 4 : fem. 1 : acc. pl. fem. 2 : *víbhhvah* n. voc. pl. masc. 3 : *çatakraťvah* voc. pl. fem. : *paçváh* acc. pl. masc. 4, *kítvah* acc. pl. masc. 2 ; in all, 17 forms.

In all these forms resolution of *y v* is rare : the forms in *-yah* are far more common in period A than later : those in *-vah* are equally used in periods A and B.¹

§ 185. Abl. gen. sing. m. f. of *-u* stems. These are also regularly formed in *-oh* : the forms in *-vah* are only about one-sixth of the whole, but they are formed from several stems. They are equally common in periods A and B, and then disappear rapidly : all happen to be masculine. The form in *-uah* is conjectural. A form in *-unah* occurs once in viii. 5. 14.¹

§ 186. The history of the neuter forms (chiefly those from *mádhru-*, *vásu-*) is perplexing. The form in *-unah*, which is that of classical Sanskrit, appears as a decaying form, and is entirely absent in period C. The form in *-vah* is far the most common in A and B, including about three times as many occurrences as that in *-oh*, but in C the proportions are reversed. To restore *-uah* for *-unah* in the text throughout would give this case a more consistent development ; but the change cannot be supported by any proof or analogy in the RV. : on the contrary the n. pl. in *-uni* is further evidence for the early occurrence of the *-n* forms.¹

§ 187. Locative singular. From *-i* stems the principal forms of the locative are *-ā* and *-au*. The figures shew that *-ā* is the earlier form, and gradually gives place to *-au* : but the locatives in *-au* are relatively much earlier than the duals in *-au*. Before vowels *-āv* appears regularly, except before *u*, where *-ā* stands, as with duals : but at the end of the *pāda* (whether odd or even) *-au* is always written.² These forms therefore have no value in the RV. as indications of date : at the same time it seems highly unlikely that the hymn-writers of period A wrote *-au* regularly at the end of the *pāda*.

The relationship between these forms has been clearly stated by Lanman, p. 387, who has successfully refuted the hypothesis that the *-au* form is due to the influence of the *-u* declension : on the other hand he has failed to shew any relation between the *-au* form and an initial labial.

The restoration of a locative in *-ayi* (Lanman, p. 388) is very doubtful, especially as amongst the examples given no locative form appears (except by an unnecessary conjecture) in iambic cadence.

¹ See Table § 210. ² A few exceptions are given by Lanman, p. 386.

There are a few locative forms in *-ī* from fem. stems in *-i* *-ī*.¹

§ 188. From *-u* stems *-au* is the regular form of the locative for all genders. But we find *-avi* (m. and n.) in period A, and the form *sāno* in B₁; and an occasional neuter locative in *-uni*.¹

§ 189. In three passages *-u* stems form n. v. a. dual in *-uvā*, *-vā*.

§ 190. Nom. acc. pl. neuter. We have the endings *-ī*, *-ī*, *-īni*: *-u*, *-ū*, *-ūni*: from the numeral *tri*, *trī*, *trīni*. None of the forms from *-i* stems are very common: the *-ī* form is rare and only occurs in period A: *trī* gives way gradually to *trīni*. But with regard to other stems the forms in *-ī* and *-īni* seem equally common (or, we may say, equally rare) in all periods.

The forms in *-ū* and *-ūni* are about equally common in A, and that in *-ūni* grows steadily in favour. The form in *-ū* is most common in period B. But the whole number of forms is much less in period C, as are also the forms of the abl. gen. sing.: and indeed the *-u* stems as a whole fail to maintain their ground in Sanskrit.¹

§ 191. Thus, as compared with the *-i* stems, those in *-u*, whilst in many points more conservative, more readily admit the *-n* element in the abl. gen. loc. sing., and in the nom. acc. plural, but always in the neuter gender. The cause is entirely obscure.

§ 192. We appear to have an accusative masc. pl. *vāyāḥ* i. 104. 1, and fem. *citrōtāyāḥ* x. 140. 3, *śūcayāḥ* AV. (Lanman, p. 395). None of these occurrences are early or of importance.

§ 193. As instr. pl. *ūtī* is found ten times, chiefly in A.¹

C. ii. Stems in *-i*.

§ 194. Like the stems in *-ā*, these are almost entirely feminine, and many are adjectives. The corresponding nominative form for the *-u* stems is *-vī*, and the declension is the same as for *-ī* nouns.

§ 195. A few masculine stems occur: the proper names *tiraçcī*, *nāmī*, *pīthī*, *mātālī* and *sóbharī*: the *nomina agentis* *rāṣṭrī* 'ruler,' *sirī* 'weaver,' and probably *etārī* 'racer': and the dual form *mādhvī*, an epithet of the *Āṇvins*. After period A only the nom. sing. appears of some of the proper nouns, and that but rarely: for the instrum. *nāmyā* i. 53. 7 is not a distinctive form. *Sóbharī* and *pīthī* have supplementary case forms of the *-i* declension.¹

§ 196. For the forms of the nom. acc. instrum. sing. see above §§ 177, 178, 181: for the dat. gen. abl. loc. singular, below § 198. The n. v. a. dual has in RV. always the form *-ī*: the nom. pl. *-īḥ*: but later the forms of the *-ī* declension *-iā(-yā)* and *-iāḥ(-yāḥ)* replace these.

§ 197. Feminine stems in *-i* are almost as common as those in *-ī*, and the number of forms is even slightly greater (about 3100 to 2800). Still the *-ī* stems having acquired a distinctively feminine character encroach upon the former: and more particularly

¹ See Table § 210.

in the dat. gen. abl. and loc. sing.: see below § 198. Change in the opposite direction is possible (Lanman, p. 372): but it is much less common: and therefore for the purposes of the RV. we may reckon *aranyānī* as an *-ī* stem: and so too (with Lanman) *yuvatī*.

The changes outside the cases named are: nom. s. *-ī* 2, abl. du. 1: nom. voc. pl. *-īh* 12, in AV. 9: loc. pl. 1: about one-half of the occurrences are in C, and AV.¹

§ 198. The group of case-endings for feminine stems, consisting of dative *-yai*, abl. gen. *-yāh*, loc. *-yām*, claims special attention: and should be compared with the corresponding groups *-āyai*, *-āyāh*, *-āyām* of the *-ā* declension, *-syai*, *-syāh*, *-syām* of the pronominal declension.

The first-named group is regularly used for the *-ī* declension, but the forms from the stem *prthivī* are comparatively so numerous that we reckon them separately. The forms from feminine stems in *-i*, at first rare, become in the AV. about equally common.

In each group we find the same remarkable development: twice as many forms in B as in A, and (except as to the word *prthivī*) three times as many in C as in B. We have then the right to assume that these forms are just nascent in the first period of the RV.: and, since about half the forms in that period belong to the *-ī* declension, that the group had its beginnings there. In that case the *y* must be originally the thematic vowel, and the pronoun-declension one using a special *-sī* stem in these cases.¹

§ 199. Consonantal *y* is everywhere the rule, and presumably original, except perhaps in the locative: in that case we must assume a double stem *-ī*, *-ī* for these nouns, the latter of which took consonantal value before vowels. Another trace of an earlier *-ī* stem in these weak cases is found perhaps in the form *nāribbhiah* from *nārī*.

The variants in *ī* (for *y*) are undoubtedly favoured by a preceding heavy syllable: thus the forms in *-iai*, *-iāh* are 27% of the whole after heavy syllables of *-i* *-ī* stems; but only 11% after light syllables (except *prthivī*): those in *-iām* 50% and 17% respectively: and in the case of the pronouns (after the short syllable) the *-i* forms are hardly found. But the forms *prthiviai*, *prthiviāh* are 23% in period A, or twice as frequent as is the rule: whilst afterwards they almost disappear: and the form *prthiviām* is notably rare throughout.¹ Thus this single word has a consonantizing tendency, which is progressive: whilst nowhere else is continuous change perceptible, either in the direction of consonantization or the reverse.²

¹ See Table, § 210.

² See Table, § 105.

C. iii. Stems in -ī, -ā.

§ 200. These stems are declined with great regularity. In the strong cases the thematic vowel, except in a few compounds, bears the accent: and in the weak cases also, except that monosyllabic stems are oxytone. It is no doubt due to the accent that the thematic vowel is very rarely consonantized, but is "split" or shortened before an ending which begins with a vowel. There is no locative singular; cf. radical stems in -ā, -a, § 169.

§ 201. Both declensions are, according to analogy and also according to the classical usage, declensions of radical nouns. But the Rīg- and Atharva-vedas contain a considerable number of polysyllables in -ī belonging to this declension. All of them have the accent on the thematic vowel, and in this we have the origin of the formation, which however does not establish itself permanently, except in the n. v. a. dual, and the nom. plural. Most of the stems are feminine: but as the masculines include one very common word *rathī*, the number of occurrences from masc. stems is still considerable.

§ 202. Masculine polysyllabic stems in -ī are given by Lanman, p. 369. Of these *nadī* *dakṣī* have no distinctive forms; but *yayī* may fairly be included. The metre also favours *svarīḥ* in i. 61. 9, to correspond to the feminine formation; but I have not included this in the enumeration. The comparative and superlative forms in -ītara, -ītama may be added.

The distinctive forms are: nom. sing. -īḥ 24 and AV. 3: acc. s. -īam 9 and *yayīam*: dative s. -īe 2: gen. s. -īaḥ 2: n. v. a. dual -īā 11, AV. 1: nom. pl. -īaḥ 18, and *yayīyah*: acc. pl. -īaḥ 4: instr. pl. -ībhiḥ 1: comp. *rathītara*, sup. *rathītama* 11.

The forms become rare after period B.

The only one of these stems that has parallel forms in -ī is *yayī*, and these forms (5) occur in periods A and B. The words therefore tend to disappear altogether.¹

§ 203. The feminine stems of the -ī declension are given by Lanman, p. 368. To his list may be added *prāṇī* and *suparṇī*: and *tapanī* *çakatī* may be withdrawn from it. The distinctive cases are as follows, omitting those in which the distinction is a matter of accent only: nom. s. -īḥ 33: acc. s. -īam 18, besides *ambīam* and *staryām*: dat. s. -īe 5: gen. s. -īaḥ 9: voc. s. -ī 3: n. v. a. dual -īā 11: nom. pl. -īaḥ 23, besides *prāṇīaḥ* and *suparṇīaḥ*: -īyah 1: -yāḥ 1: acc. pl. -īaḥ 19, and *suparṇīaḥ*: -īyah 2: -yāḥ 1: in all, 131, besides 58 in AV.

These forms as a whole increase notably within the Vedic period: and this increase, as contrasted with the decrease of the masculine forms, points to a progressive identification of the stems in -ī and ī, and the recognition of both as distinctly feminine: the importance of the accent being now less felt.¹

¹ See Table, § 210.

§ 204. Two cases form an exception: the genitive and dative singular, never common, disappear in C₂ and the AV. Of the ablative and locative singular no forms exist at all. Thus the field is left entirely open to the forms in *-yai*, *-yāh*, *-yām*, for which see above, § 198. A few of these forms appear in RV.

§ 205. Parallel forms belonging to other declensions occur as follows: nom. sing. in *-ī* once in RV., 10 times in AV.: acc. s. in *-īm* once in AV.; gen. *-iāh*, once in AV.: loc. in *-ī* in *gaurī* ix. 12. 3; in *-iām*, *dūtīām* vi. 58. 3 (cf. *śrīyām* once in AV.): nom. pl. in *-īh* twice in AV.: acc. pl. in *-īh* *arunīh* i. 112. 19, iv. 2. 16, *yātudhānīh* once in AV. Except as regards the nom. pl., all these changes point in the direction of the subsequent fusion, though none but the nom. s. are of importance. On the other hand n. v. a. dual in *-ī* is only found in period A (4 times), where *-iā* occurs but twice: it may therefore represent an earlier formation: nom. pl. in *-āyah* occurs three times, *arunāyah* x. 95. 6, *ambāyah* i. 23. 16, *kṣonāyah* x. 22. 9, the last only being an early hymn. B-forms also occur from *ēnī*, *śīnī*; from the accent we may infer perhaps another form of the stem in these words.

§ 206. Many root-nouns belong to the *-u* declension in RV. (Lanman, p. 401); amongst them are to be reckoned *prabhū* and *āprabhū*. Occasional *-u* forms are also found from *ābhū* 2, *purubhū*, *mayobhū* 7, *vibhū* 10 (excluding *vibhū* as n. pr.), *śambhū* 4: and once each from *sabardhū*, *dhījū*, *āyū* (fem.): in AV. once each from *abhibhū*, *paribhū*: in all, 29 exx. We have no reason to doubt that transition took place in the direction of the *-u* declension in these words, but it does not appear markedly in any one period.¹

§ 207. In spite of the analogy of both the *-ī* and *-ī* nouns, non-radical stems in *-ū* are rare. Of masculines we can count only *krkadāśū* i. 29. 7, and *prāśū* i. 40. 1; although a similar adjective *maksū* can be inferred from the superlative *maksūtama* viii. 19. 12, ix. 55. 3. Besides these we have compounds of *tanū* retaining *-ū*, once in RV. (*ātaptatanū* ix. 83. 1), and in AV. in one hymn *sārvatanū* many times.

§ 208. There are a few feminine polysyllabic substantives in *-ū*. Of these 2 *jūhū* 'sacrificial ladle', and *tanū* are found throughout RV. and AV.: *camū* and 1 *jūhū* 'tongue' are early words: *vadhū* and *çvaçrū* are more commonly late. Feminine adjectives, especially those corresponding to masculines in *-nū*, *-yū*, *-sū* are fairly common: but the occurrences are few, and are almost confined to the nom. and acc. sing., and the nom. plural. There are also a few proper names.¹ In the AV. we have a few feminine forms in *-vai*, *-vāh*, *-vām*, in imitation of the forms *-yai*, *-yāh*, *-yām* from *-ī* stems: but in RV. there is only one certain example, and that in a hymn of the latest date.

¹ See Table, § 210.

§ 209. There are no other developments of importance in these declensions: the irregularities of the words *arāṇi* (or *-ī*), *śādhī* (or *-ī*) and *strī* seem to have acquired a fixed position before the beginning of the Vedic period.

§ 210. Table shewing the variants of the declensions in *-ī*, *-ī*, *-ī*, *-u*, *-ū*.

Refer to §		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
179	Nom. acc. neut. s. in <i>-ū</i>	8	3	2	5	2	--	--	2
180	Instr. masc. sing. in <i>-iā</i> , <i>-yā</i>	3	--	1	1	--	1	2	3
	“ “ “ <i>-inā</i>	20	11	12	23	5	3	17	25
	“ “ “ <i>-uā</i> , <i>-vā</i>	46	13	14	27	5	--	8	13
	“ “ “ <i>-unā</i>	51	17	34	51	7	7	41	55
	Transitions to <i>-inā</i> , <i>-unā</i>	6	3	13	21	6	--	14	20
181	Instr. fem. s. (<i>-ī</i> stems) in <i>-ī</i>	59	19	27	46	5	--	1	6
	“ “ “ in <i>-ī</i>	17	2	3	5	1	--	1	2
	All in <i>-ī</i> , <i>-ī</i>	76	21	30	51	6	--	2	8
	Instr. fem. s. (<i>-ī</i> stems) in <i>iā</i> , <i>yā</i>	23	7	11	18	6	3	41	50
	“ “ <i>śāmī</i> , etc.	4	4	3	7	1	--	--	1
	“ “ (<i>-ū</i> stems) in <i>-uā</i> , <i>-vā</i>	3	1	2	3	4	2	4	10
	“ “ adverbs <i>-uyā</i>	14	3	9	12	1	5	6	12
182	Dat. fem. sing. in <i>-ī</i> , (<i>ūtī</i> , <i>vītī</i>)	12	5	5	10	1	--	--	1
	“ “ <i>suastī</i>	3	2	--	2	1	2	?	?
183	Dat. masc. neut. in <i>-ue</i> , <i>-ve</i>	11	2	2	4	--	--	2	2
184	<i>aryāḥ</i> , <i>avyāḥ</i> (all forms)	58	7	15	22	7	--	--	7
	Nom. voc. acc. pl. in <i>-vaḥ</i>	8	5	3	8	--	1	--	1
185	Abl. gen. masc. sing. in <i>-vaḥ</i>	19	7	12	19	1	3	1	5
186	Abl. gen. neut. s. in <i>-vaḥ</i>	41	26	32	58	4	--	1	5
	All forms in <i>-yah</i> , <i>-vaḥ</i>	126	45	62	107	12	4	2	18
	Abl. gen. neut. s. in <i>-oḥ</i>	18	13	4	17	1	2	13	16
	“ “ “ <i>-unaḥ</i>	17	6	6	12	--	--	--	0
187	Loc. s. before consonants in <i>-ā</i>	49	15	37	52	4	--	1	5
	“ “ “ <i>-au</i>	19	14	20	34	7	5	c15	c27
	“ “ fem. (<i>-ī</i> stems) in <i>-ī</i>	1	2	1	3	--	1	4	5
188	Loc. s. m. n. in <i>-avi</i>	16	1	--	1	--	--	--	0
	“ “ n. in <i>-o</i>	--	9	--	9	--	--	--	0
	“ “ in <i>-uni</i>	2	1	1	2	--	--	1	1
189	N. v. a. dual masc. in <i>-uvā</i> , <i>-vā</i>	2	--	1	1	--	--	--	0
190	Nom. acc. neut. pl. in <i>-ī</i>	12	4	7	11	1	--	7	8
	“ “ “ “ <i>-ī</i>	4	--	--	0	--	--	--	0
	“ “ “ “ <i>-īni</i>	5	6	1	7	1	--	4	5
	“ “ <i>trī</i>	5	10	6	16	--	--	--	0
	“ “ <i>trīni</i>	9	5	9	14	6	1	20	27
	All forms in <i>-ī</i> <i>-ī</i>	21	14	13	27	1	--	7	8
	“ “ “ <i>-īni</i>	14	11	10	21	7	1	24	32
	Nom. acc. neut. pl. in <i>-u</i>	31	6	10	16	1	--	1	2
	“ “ “ “ <i>-ū</i>	9	11	6	17	2	--	--	2
	All forms in <i>-u</i> , <i>-ū</i>	40	17	16	33	3	--	1	4
	Nom. acc. neut. pl. in <i>ūni</i>	49	25	48	73	4	1	14	19

Refer to §		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
193	Instr. fem. pl. <i>ūtī</i>	8	1	1	2	--	--	--	0
195	Masc. forms of <i>-ī</i> declension ..	13	1	--	1	1	--	1	2
	Masc. case-forms from <i>-ī</i> stems (exc. nom. sing.)	3	--	--	0	--	--	--	0
197	Forms from fem. <i>-ī</i> stems in <i>-ī, -ibhyām, -īh, -īsu</i>	6	3	3	6	1	3	9	13
198	Fem. forms <i>-yai -yāh, -yām: -ā</i> stems	30	16	39	55	8	19	127	154
	“ <i>-i</i> stems (by transition)	3	9	9	18	6	8	115	129
	“ <i>-ī</i> stems (exc. <i>prthivī</i>) ..	12	12	19	31	7	7	84	98
	“ <i>prthivī</i>	39	26	54	80	9	5	78	92
	“ <i>ī</i> stems	1	--	1	1	--	--	2	2
199	All forms in <i>-yai -yāh -yām</i>	85	63	122	185	30	39	406	475
	Pronominal forms in <i>-syai</i> , etc.	24	19	37	56	8	16	167	191
	<i>-iai, -iāh: after heavy syll., -i,</i> <i>-ī</i> stems	1	3	2	5	3	4	27	34
	“ light syll., <i>-i</i> <i>-ī</i> stems	--	2	1	3	--	--	4	4
	stem <i>prthivī</i>	7	1	1	2	1	--	3	4
	<i>-siai, -siāh</i> (of pronouns)	1	2	--	2	--	--	1	1
	<i>-iām: after heavy syll., -i, -ī</i> stems	6	3	--	3	1	--	22	23
	“ light syll., <i>-i, -ī</i> stems	1	--	--	0	--	--	2	2
	stem <i>prthivī</i>	3	1	1	2	--	--	--	0
	<i>-siām</i> (of pronouns)	--	--	--	0	--	--	1	1
	<i>-yai, -yāh</i> after heavy syll. <i>-i, -ī</i> stems	--	6	6	12	4	7	79	90
	“ light syll. “ ..	6	6	15	21	4	2	29	35
	stem <i>prthivī</i>	23	22	38	60	5	4	38	47
	<i>-syai, -syāh</i> of pronouns	18	17	27	44	7	13	134	154
	<i>-yām: after heavy syll., -i, -ī</i> stems	--	--	2	2	1	2	30	33
	“ light syll., <i>-i, -ī</i> stems	1	1	2	3	--	--	6	6
	stem <i>prthivī</i>	6	2	14	16	3	1	37	41
	<i>-syām</i> (of pronouns)	5	--	10	10	1	3	31	35
202	Forms from masc. stems of <i>-ī</i> decl. (polysyllables)	38	17	24	41	5	1	4	10
203	fem. polys. in <i>ī</i> (except gen. dat. sing.) ..	32	16	37	53	22	10	58	90
204	“ in <i>ī</i> gen. dat. sing. ..	6	2	4	6	2	--	--	2
205	“ “ nom. sing. in <i>-ī</i> ..	0	--	1	1	--	--	10	10
	fem. polys. in <i>ī</i> : all forms ...	38	18	42	60	24	10	68	102
206	Transitions from <i>-ū</i> to <i>-u</i> forms	8	6	10	16	3	--	2	5
208	Polysyllabic fem. adj. in <i>-ū</i> ...	16	11	12	23	--	1	5	6
	“ “ proper names	--	2	1	3	1	1	1	3
	Polysyllabic fem. in <i>-ū</i> all forms	16	13	13	26	1	2	6	9

D. Stems in -ar (-ṛ).

§ 211. Neuter forms are rare in RV., and do not at all follow the rules of the grammarians. We have nom. acc. sing. *sthātār*, *sthātūr* 3, *dhartāri* 2, *vidhartāri* 2: genitive *sthātūr* 6: locative *dhmātāri*: gen. plur. *sthātām* (Lanman, pp. 422, 423). These forms occur in A and B: several are doubtful.¹

§ 212. It has been suggested that a trace of a nom. sing. form in -ār can be noticed where hiatus takes place after the ending -ā: but Lanman has shewn that such hiatus is very rare: indeed it happens to be rarer than after final -ā generally. That hiatus happens to occur twice (out of five occ.) before ṛ, and is so recognized by the diaskeuasts, is a matter of no importance.²

§ 213. The loc. sing. masc. has the ending -ārī in two passages in period A: cf. neut. *dhmātāri* above: but *nānānd(a)ri* occurs in a late hymn, x. 85.46.

§ 214. The gen. loc. dual in RV. is in -aroḥ, though the text gives -roḥ. Yet the single exception occurs in an early hymn (vii. 3. 9).

§ 215. The gen. pl. *svāsrām* occurs once, in an early hymn (i. 65. 7). It is a genuine form.

§ 216. The dative and genitive singular of *nár* 'man' are early. The occurrences are *nāre* 5 (and *sūarnare*); *nārah* (gen.) 3. Even more distinctly is the gen. pl. *narām* or *narāam* early. The alternative form is no doubt everywhere to be read *nṛnām*: in one passage only either in RV. or AV. does *nṛnām* seem to be favoured, viz. RV. x. 148. 4 (an early hymn): and even here the scansion *nṛnām* is perfectly admissible. The form is rare after period B.¹ For the form *nṛn* see above § 159. The reading *nārah* for nom. voc. pl. is suggested by the position in three hymns of period B (Lanman, p. 428): but the instances in which *nārah* may be read are over 150, and the variant is perhaps only metrical.³

§ 217. From the stem *uśár* we have voc. *uśar*, gen. *usrāḥ* 2, loc. *usrī* v. 53. 14 (or *uśarī*, as Lanman, unless we read *vṛṣṭuī* at the beginning of the *pāda*), acc. pl. *usrāḥ* 2. We have also the locative singular *uś(a)rām* x. 6. 5, pointing (as does *usrāḥ* gen. sing. also) to a formation analogous to that of -ī stems. In several passages the interpretation is open to doubt: but we may with some confidence reckon *usrāḥ* (gen. s.) v. 49. 3, *usrāḥ* (gen. s.) i. 3. 8; 71. 2. These forms occur mostly in A and B.¹

§ 218. Forms from the stem *stár* (*stí*) are also early; they occur chiefly in the period B.¹

¹ See Table, § 233.

³ See above, § 143.

² Still less does the fact that the diaskeuasts have not recognized the hiatus in i. 127. 10, where it nevertheless exists, confirm Kuhn's hypothesis of the late date of this and the other hymns of Parucchepa. On the contrary, the hiatus confirms the early date to which all evidence assigns these hymns.

E. Stems in -ai, o, au.

§ 219. From *rai* we have the Vedic forms *rām* x. 111. 7, *rāy(i)ā* i. 129. 9, 10; and in the gen. pl. ix. 108. 13 we may read either *rāyām*, or *rāy(i)ām*. For some isolated compound forms see Lanman, p. 431. Cf. also § 86, note 2.

§ 220. From *gó*, acc. *gām*, gen. *góh* are sometimes disyllabic, see §§ 66, 71: such forms occur almost entirely in period A. Of the two forms of the gen. pl., *gávām*, presumably the older, is the one that has survived: *gónām* (*gónaam*) occurs 20 times, chiefly in period B.¹

§ 221. From *div* 'heaven' we have disyllabic forms *dyáuḥ* (nom. and voc.) *dyām* (acc.), and once *dyūn* acc. pl. With regard to *dyáuḥ*, as it almost always has this value at the beginning of a verse, and not where a double consonant is required to make the preceding syllable long by position, we may interpret the value as *diáuḥ*. On the other hand *dyām* (acc.) frequently makes length by position: we must therefore read *dyām* or *dyávam*: cf. *gām* above, and § 66. The same reason should lead us to resolve the vowel *ū* in *dyūn*: but there is only one occurrence.¹

§ 222. Besides these resolved forms the following are more or less regular in RV., but rare in AV.: *dyóh* (abl. and gen.) 6, *dyūn* (acc. pl.) 24, *dyúbhih* 19, *dyávi* 16, *dyāvā* 22, *dyāvah* 22. Of these the first three (from the stem *dyu-*) are most common in period B: the rest (from stems *dyav-*, *dyāv-*) are most common in A, but still frequent in B. Although *dyām* occurs at all periods, the form *divam* is used side by side with it: but very rarely till the period C: *divám* (so accented) occurs in one hymn (viii. 34) several times.

Closely connected with this declension² are the adverbial forms *divā* (in all periods), and *divé-dive* (in A and B). The abl. sing. *dyáuḥ* occurs once only (i. 71. 8), as does also a voc. dual *dyāvī* (iv. 56. 5).

Of the five possible occurrences of *divah* *diváh* as nom. acc. pl. in RV., three are in B₂: these forms reappear in AV.

Several forms compounded with *pra* occur, viz. *pradivā*, *pradivah*, *pradivi*, and (in AV.) *pradyáuḥ*. The occurrences are mostly in B.¹

§ 223. Table shewing variants of the declensions in -ar (*r*), -ai, -o, -au. (See next page.)

¹ See Table, § 223.

² If not rather to be considered as a part of it.

Refer to §		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
211	Neuters in -ar	9	3	4	7	--	--	--	0
216	From <i>nār</i> 'man' sing. <i>nāre</i> , <i>nārah</i>	5	3	1	4	--	--	--	0
"	gen. pl. <i>nārām</i> , <i>nar-</i> <i>ām</i>	11	4	1	5	--	--	--	0
"	" <i>nṛnām</i> , <i>nṛnām</i>	12	5	9	14	--	--	2	2
217	From stem <i>usār</i>	4	4	2	6	--	--	--	0
218	<i>stār</i>	1	6	2	8	--	--	--	0
220	Form <i>gónām</i> (<i>gónaam</i>)	6	8	5	13	1	--	1	2
222	<i>dyóh</i> (abl. gen.)	2	--	3	3	1	--	--	0
"	<i>dyān</i>	4	4	14	18	1	1	--	2
"	<i>dyúbhīh</i>	2	7	9	16	1	--	--	1
"	<i>dyāvi</i>	12	1	2	3	1	--	--	1
"	<i>dyāvā</i> (not including <i>dyāvā-prthivī</i>)	12	2	6	8	2	--	--	2
"	<i>dyāvāh</i>	11	3	6	9	2	--	--	2
"	<i>divam</i>	8	2	5	7	3	3	59	65
"	<i>dyām</i> (see also <i>diām</i> § 66)	13	13	31	44	8	1	31	40
"	<i>divā</i>	12	5	3	8	2	3	13	18
"	<i>divé-dive</i>	20	8	15	23	1	1	1	3
"	pl. <i>divāh</i> , <i>divāh</i> , nom. acc.	1	1	3	4	--	--	6	6
"	<i>pradyāúh</i> , <i>pradivā</i> , <i>pra-</i> <i>divāh</i> , <i>pradivi</i>	7	12	9	21	1	--	2	3

F. Consonantal Stems.

§ 224. The consonantal root-stems do not lend themselves to so detailed an historical consideration as we are now engaged in, on account of the small number of variant forms: we need only to note a few points. The tendency they shew to pass to a vowel declension is discussed below § 290.

§ 225. The stem *yáj* shews a nasalized strong form in two late hymns i. 162. 21; x. 102. 9: so too *kídŕç* and *sadŕç* in a few scattered forms i. 94. 7; viii. 11. 8; 43. 21; x. 108. 3: *uruvyác* v. 1. 12.

§ 226. Connected with *pathí* 'path' the RV. has throughout, and quite frequently in late hymns, the strong forms *pánthāh*, *pánthām*, *pánthāh*: the *ā* is resolved in four occurrences, all in A. Not till the AV. do we find occasionally *pánthānah*, and once each *pánthā²* and *pánthānam*.

§ 227. The compounds ending in *pad* waver between the strong and the weak stems in the n. v. a. sing. neut. (Lanman, p. 470). The weak form alone occurs in A, both occur in B, the strong form (with a single exception) is found in C. But the number of instances is very small.¹

§ 228. The form *āpah*, acc. pl., shewing the strong stem, is occasional in RV., frequent in AV. The forms of the singular *apā* 1, *apāh* 5 are found in A and B.¹

¹ See Table, § 235.² In iv. 2. 3 (Lanman, p. 441).

§ 229. From the stem *súar* oblique cases occur in A B only, with a single exception.¹

§ 230. From *púns* 'man' the voc. *pumaḥ* is once found, ix. 9. 7: see below § 265.

§ 231. A few forms from the stem *āçás* 'hope' occur throughout RV. and AV.¹

§ 232. Although in the consonantal declension generally there are but few signs of the distinction between strong and weak forms of the stem, in stems ending in *-h* there is much variation. There are forms of both kinds from *-sah* in strong cases: strong forms only from *-vah*: weak forms only in other adjectives.

In period A strong and weak forms from the stem *-sah* are equally common: afterwards strong forms only appear. There is no reason to suppose that the metre has appreciably influenced the quantity. In viii. 81. 7 it is desirable to restore *satrásāham* (text *satrásāham*).¹

§ 233. Compounds ending in the roots *-vac*, *-sac*, *-sap* occur in RV. and AV. only in strong cases, and with lengthened vowel: and even of the forms assigned to *-vāc* only a few shew weak cases. *nābhah* n. pl. occurs once, *nābhah* acc. pl. with a different meaning: *āçás* has the short vowel, *ukthaçás* the long vowel in all forms that occur. In none of these points is there a trace of any movement within the Vedic period.

§ 234. From *dvār* 'door' we have acc. pl. *dúrah* 24 times, *duráh* 1, as if from a weak stem *dúr*: the occurrences are chiefly in B. A nom. pl. *dúrah* occurs i. 188. 5, in a late hymn.¹

§ 235. Table shewing variants of consonantal declension.

Refer to §		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
227	Stem <i>pad</i> (compounds): n. a. sing. neut. in <i>-pad</i>	2	--	2	2	--	1	--	1
227	Stem <i>pad</i> (compounds): n. a. sing. neut. in <i>-pād</i>	--	--	2	2	--	1	10	11
228	Acc. pl. <i>āpaḥ</i>	1	1	1	2	1	1	16	18
"	Forms of singular: <i>apā</i> , <i>apāḥ</i>	3	1	2	3	--	--	--	0
229	Oblique cases of <i>súar</i>	12	3	9	12	1	--	--	1
231	Forms from stem <i>āçás</i> 'hope'.....	4	2	3	5	--	1	1	2
232	<i>-sah</i> in strong cases.....	18	--	1	1	--	--	--	0
"	<i>-sāh</i> " ".....	18	11	9	20	--	1	9	10
234	Accusative pl. <i>dúrah</i> , <i>duráh</i>	8	6	10	16	1	--	--	1

G. Derivative stems in *-as*, *-is*, *-us*.

§ 236. From *uśás* we have in RV. and AV. the seemingly 'strong' forms *uśásam* 11, *uśásā* (including *uśásānāktā*, *nāktōçásā*) 18, AV. 2, *uśásah* (nom. pl. 15, gen. s. x. 39. 1). As this word admits many variants, the genuineness of these need not be disputed. As to the acc. sing. and nom. pl. (and still more of

¹ See Table, § 235.

course as to the gen. sing.) the forms with *-as* stem are very much more common in all parts of RV. and AV.: and we have therefore every reason to suppose those with *-ās* to be only temporary variations: they occur chiefly in period B.

On the other hand *uśāsā* is much the commoner form of the dual: including the compounds we have 20 exx., but only four of *uśāsā*, none in A. It is not possible that this result is due to the metre: clearly any such argument would equally apply to the metrically equivalent forms of the acc. sing. and nom. pl. The evidence therefore shews that *uśāsā* dual is the earliest form known to the Vedic poets: and if so, the occasional occurrence of *uśāsam*, *uśāsaḥ* under the double influence of the nom. sing. and the n. v. a. dual is not surprising.¹

So too occurs once *toṣāsā* (viii. 38. 2), in A.

§ 237. The strong stem appears in nom. sing. *janūḥ* vii. 58. 2, an A passage.

§ 238. An irregular nom. sing. in *-ān* appears in *su-āvān* 9, *svātavān* 2 in A and B.¹

§ 239. Certain words, shewing generally *-as* forms in RV., nevertheless give acc. sing. *-ām*, nom. masc. pl., nom. acc. fem. pl., *-āḥ*, as if from stems in *-ā*. These forms are discussed by Lanman, pp. 549–553: the theory of “contract forms” which is put forward is opposed by all we know of the tendencies of the language in the Vedic period, and gets but poor support from the comparison of the Greek. The facts, which are difficult to define, rather point to an original combination of an *-ā* and *-as* declension: and if so, we must keep apart those words in which a full *-ā* declension is maintained, e. g. *medhā*, *āṣā*. It is not easy to believe that the *āṣās* of the RV. became *āṣā* of the AV. by a process going on in the Vedic period, in the entire absence of parallel changes.

§ 240. That the acc. sing. *mahām* is more closely connected with a neut. nom. *mahāḥ* than with other forms of this word seems probable enough: there are 23 forms, all in A and B.¹

§ 241. The form *sajōṣāḥ* nom. pl. clearly belongs here. Coming to be regarded as an adverb (cf. below, § 244), it is twice used with duals in RV.: and the writers of the AV. may have looked upon the form in this light. There are nineteen occurrences in RV., nearly all in A: and three in AV. (Whitney). With it we may classify *ājōṣāḥ*, occurring once in A.¹

§ 242. Of the other forms suggested the following seem well grounded: acc. sing. *vedhām* 2, *sumedhām* 2, *vayām*, *uśām* 2: nom. pl. *nāvedāḥ* 2, *āṅgirāḥ*, *anehāḥ*, *surādḥāḥ*: acc. pl. m. f. *sumedhāḥ*, *uśāḥ*, 14 forms in all, of which 8 are in A.¹

§ 243. There are no forms in RV. from a stem *uśānaḥ*: see above, § 163.

§ 244. The neut. nom. acc. sing. ends in *-āḥ* (sometimes used adverbially) in 14 instances given by Lanman from RV., and 3

¹ See Table, § 248.

from AV. The occurrences are rather more common in the later hymns.¹

§ 245. The instrum. sing. in *-aḥ* occurs six times at least (Ian-man, p. 562): the certain instances are in A and B.¹

§ 246. *Mānu* takes its forms from the two stems *mānu-*, *mānus-*: the abl. gen. sing., n. v. a. pl. *mānuṣaḥ*, are well established in A and B: the derivatives *mānurhita*, *manuṣvāt*, and (once) *viṣvāmanus* are much more common in A. For the instr. and dative singular *mānunā*, *mānave* are a great deal more common, and apparently earlier: whilst it is remarkable that the nom. and acc. sing. are decidedly rare. The forms from stem *mānu-* linger in C, but the word as a whole gives way to the derivative *manuṣyā*.¹

§ 247. Stems in *-as*, *-is*, *-us* are prevailingly neuter: and it is to be noticed that the nasal element is established in the n. v. a. pl. (*-āṇsi*, etc.) of this declension much earlier than in either the *-an* or *-a* declension. It is unreasonable to regard this form as shewing a strong stem.

§ 248. Stems in *-as*, *-is*, *-us*.

Refer to §		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
236	Stem <i>uṣas</i> : acc. s. <i>uṣāsam</i>	--	7	4	11	--	--	--	0
	“ du. <i>uṣāsā</i>	8	1	8	9	1	--	2	3
	“ nom. pl., gen. s. <i>uṣāsaḥ</i>	4	2	9	11	1	--	--	1
	All the above forms.....	12	10	21	31	2	--	2	4
238	Nom. sing. <i>su-āvān</i> , <i>svātavān</i>	3	1	7	8	--	--	--	0
240	Acc. sing. <i>mahām</i>	9	7	7	14	--	--	--	0
241	Nom. pl. <i>sajōṣāḥ</i> , <i>djōṣāḥ</i>	16	1	3	4	--	--	3	3
242	Other forms in <i>-ām</i> , <i>-āḥ</i>	8	3	1	4	2	--	--	2
244	Nom. acc. n. sing. in <i>-āḥ</i>	4	1	8	9	--	1	3	4
245	Instrum. sing. in <i>-aḥ</i>	4	2	--	2	--	--	--	0
246	Stem <i>mānus</i> : abl. gen. sing., n. v. a. pl. <i>mānuṣaḥ</i>	24	9	13	22	--	--	--	0
	Stem <i>mānus</i> : sing. <i>mānuṣā</i> , <i>mānuṣe</i>	1	7	2	9	--	--	--	0
	Stem <i>mānus</i> : compounds.....	23	1	9	10	--	--	--	0
	Stem <i>mānu</i> : nom. acc. loc. sing.: gen. plural.....	6	3	8	11	4	--	2	6
	Stem <i>mānu</i> : gen. sing. <i>mānoḥ</i> , n. pl. <i>mānavāḥ</i>	4	--	7	7	1	--	2	3
	Stem <i>mānu</i> : singular <i>mānunā</i> , <i>mānave</i>	14	9	14	23	--	--	2	2
	Stem <i>mānu</i> : compounds.....	1	1	1	2	--	--	1	1

H. Stems in *-an*, *-van*, *-man*.

§ 249. Of the locative singular there are two forms, *-an* and *-ani*: the former prevalent in every part of the RV., but the latter nearly twice as common in the AV. The form in *-ani* is decidedly favoured by the metres of period A: and though other-

¹ See Table, § 248.

wise it might be still rarer in that period, yet the figures shew once more that the metres do not largely influence the forms in any part of the RV.¹

We may reasonably conclude that *-an* is the earlier formation, and *-ani* due to the analogy of other declensions and the general tendency to expansion of flexional forms.

§ 250. The n. a. neut. plural has the three forms, *-a*, *-ā*, *āni*; the first two, so long as they are used, being about equally common.² The form in *-āni* has in all periods more occurrences than the other two put together: but in A the forms *-a*, *-ā* are 40 per cent. of the whole, and in B as many as 47 per cent.: then they rapidly disappear. The theory of transition to the *-a* stems does not suit the general facts well. For the Rigveda a more correct statement would be that the element *-ni* as sign of the neuter plural appears first in the stems in *-as*, etc.: next optionally in the stems in *-an*, *-a* in the order given: and finally establishes itself as the only form in all neuters plural. On the other hand, as the forms in *-ā* *-a* are most common in period B, it is quite possible to regard *-āni* as the original form, and *-a*, *-ā* as temporary variations which reach their maximum in period B.¹

§ 251. Connected with these stems we find certain "abbreviated" forms of the instr. sing. From the noun for 'greatness' we have in A most often *mahinā*, in B *mahnā*; in C₁ C₂ most often *mahinā*, in AV. *mahimnā*. Other case-forms from the stem *mahán* are not common. It is therefore not easy to take as our starting point a stem *mahimán*, instr. *mahimnā*: so far as the RV. shews, *mahinā* *mahnā* are forms of equal authority, and the former has later been adapted to the stem *mahimán*.³ A similarly early word is *dānā* (5 times in A); it never adapted itself to the stem in *-man*. Other similar formations are sporadic.¹

§ 252. "Syncopation" of the stem, or its weakening by the omission of thematic *a*, is a striking feature in classical Sanskrit of all nouns in *-an*, and of those in which *-man* or *-van* is preceded by a vowel. It is there found in all the weak cases, the suffix of which commences with a vowel. In the RV. and AV. the process of syncopation is only partly complete, and it presents a close parallel to the consonantization of thematic *-i* *-u*.

§ 253. The following forms are not affected by syncopation in RV.: the quasi-infinitives *dāvāne*, *trāmane*, *dāmane*, *dhārmane*, *bhārmane*, and *vidmāne*: the locatives singular, in which the form in *-ani* is preserved by the parent or parallel form in *-an* (though the AV. shews several forms in *-ni*): and the n. v. a. dual neuter, a somewhat rare form.¹

§ 254. All the stems in *-van*, and the great majority of those in *-man* are preceded by a heavy syllable: those in *-an* more often by a light syllable. That the preceding light syllable favoured syncopation is highly probable: but this feature (if not

¹ See Table, § 263. ² Amongst the forms in *-ā* I include *cīrṣā*, *āhā*.

³ The explanation given by me has been reached independently and earlier by H. Collitz, B.B. xviii., p. 231 (1892). See also Bloomfield, JAOS., xvi., p. clvi.

primitive) had spread to the whole of the *-an* stems before the earliest hymns of the RV., and exceptions are only sporadic.¹ The *-van* stems have in period A *-van-*, in B *-vn-* almost without exception : but in C even the forms with *-vn-* have almost disappeared. Stems in *-man* do not admit syncopation after a heavy syllable until period C : but after a light syllable syncopation is the rule throughout.

The facts may therefore be summarized as follows : after light syllables syncopation is the rule in all periods : after heavy syllables it has become the rule in period A for the stems in *-an*, in period B for the stems in *-van*, in period C for the stems in *-man*.²

The lists given by Lanman require amendment in one or two points: in vi. 18. 7 *námanā* is to be read, not *námnā* : in the lists on p. 525 the occurrence of *dāmano-dāmanah* in AV. vii. 83. 2 is to be noted. The readings *rājanā* x. 97. 22, *mahānā* x. 6. 7 are open to some doubt.³

§ 255. There are 10 instances of a vocative in *-vah*, scattered throughout the Rigveda.²

§ 256. In the strong cases *a* is found in RV. in certain stems (Lanman, p. 523), and *ukṣānam* i. 164. 43, *vīṣānam* ix. 34. 3, x. 89. 9 are only sporadic exceptions. In 16 passages Lanman proposes to read *a* in place of the *ā* of the *samhitā*, where the latter appears as the seventh syllable of an octosyllabic verse. But in seven at least of these passages neighbouring verses shew that the iambic cadence is not positively required : the remaining nine are : *anarvānam* ii. 6. 5 ; viii. 81. 8 ; *mahimānam* viii. 46. 3 ; viii. 54. 4 ; *rathayāvānā* viii. 38. 2 ; *subhrayāvānā* viii. 26. 19 ; *pārijmānam* viii. 61. 10 ; *dhītādvānam* iii. 27. 2 ; *tigmā-mūrdhānah* vi. 46. 11. In three cases (ii. 6. 5 ; iii. 27. 2 ; viii. 46. 3) there is some parallel near, with non-iambic cadence : and the same words or others of similar formation are constantly used in the Rigveda, and are placed in such positions that a long penultimate is favoured or at least admissible. It seems that the iambic cadence is not observed with sufficient strictness in the earliest parts of the Rigveda, in which eight out of these nine passages quoted occur, to enable us to accept the proposed alteration with any confidence.

Of forms with short *a*, many have that vowel in the second place. Here the Vedic rhythm permits a short syllable, provided that a long syllable follows. As this is invariably the case with these words, we may be confident that the short vowel is historically correct.

We must conclude that the length of the vowel was in all ordinary cases determined before the Vedic period.

§ 257. For forms from the stem *maghāvant*, see below § 266.

§ 258. The middle cases *ābhiḥ* 9, *ābhiyaḥ* 2, *āhasu* occur in the RV. up to period C.²

¹ Yet the syncopated forms after heavy syllables, though alone in the field, are not very common till period C.

² See Table, § 263.

³ Lanman, pp. 524, 525.

§ 259. The stems *ūdhan*, *ūdhar* are peculiar to the RV., which also uses *ūdhaḥ*. In the table forms that may represent either *ūdhar* or *ūdhaḥ* are omitted : no precise results can be deduced : but the two former stems do not appear later than B.¹

§ 260. Case-forms other than the weakest, from the stems *akṣán*, *asthán*, *sakthán* are sporadic in RV.

§ 261. For the use of the stem *pánthan* in strong cases see above § 226.

§ 262. The acc. sing. *mánthām* is once found, in a late hymn, i. 28. 4, in RV., and once in AV.: *mathindām* Vāl. 5. 8 (in an early hymn) is a doubtful reading. Scarcely any forms of *rbhuksán* occur after period A: its declension corresponds to a stem *rbhuksā* in the strong cases, *rbhuksán* in the weak.¹

§ 263. Stems in *-man*, *-van*, *-an*.

Refer to §		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
249	Loc. sing. in <i>-an</i>	73	37	61	98	17	8	28	53
	“ “ “ <i>-ani</i>	50	21	43	64	3	5	47	55
250	Nom. acc. pl. in <i>-ā</i>	25	11	16	27	—	—	8	8
	“ “ “ <i>-a</i>	28	12	19	31	2	1	—	3
	Nom. acc. pl. in <i>-a</i> , <i>-ā</i>	53	23	35	58	2	1	8	11
	“ “ “ <i>-āni</i>	78	26	41	67	6	15	36	57
251	Instr. sing. <i>mahinā</i>	20	3	9	12	4	2	—	6
	“ “ <i>mahimnā</i>	—	—	2	2	1	—	5	6
	“ “ <i>mahnā</i> , <i>mah(a)nā</i>	12	4	16	20	2	—	2	4
	“ “ <i>dānā</i>	5	—	—	0	—	—	—	0
	“ “ <i>prathinā</i> , <i>preṇā</i> , <i>bhūnā</i>	1	—	1	1	3	—	—	3
253	Form <i>dāvāne</i>	21	3	4	7	—	—	—	0
	Infinitives in <i>-mane</i>	1	—	1	1	2	2	—	4
254	Unsyncopated forms after heavy syllables: <i>-man</i>	18	7	12	19	—	1	7	8
	“ “ <i>-van</i>	13	—	1	1	—	—	—	0
	“ “ <i>-an</i>	0	—	—	0	1	1	—	2
	Unsyncopated forms after light syllables: <i>-man</i>	0	2	1	3	—	—	—	0
	“ “ <i>-an</i>	3	1	—	1	—	—	—	0
	All unsyncopated forms	34	10	14	24	1	2	7	10
254	Syncopated forms after heavy syllables: <i>-man</i>	1	—	—	0	—	2	19	21
	“ “ <i>-van</i>	4	2	9	11	1	3	1	5
	“ “ <i>-an</i>	15	2	15	17	11	4	49	64
	Syncopated forms after light syllables: <i>-man</i>	5	1	6	7	1	2	15	18
	All syncopated forms	25	5	30	35	13	11	84	108
255	Vocative in <i>-vaḥ</i>	4	3	2	5	1	—	—	1
258	Middle cases of <i>āhan</i>	5	1	3	4	3	—	—	3
259	Forms from stem <i>ūdhan</i>	7	6	6	12	—	—	—	0
	“ “ <i>ūdhar</i>	3	6	3	9	—	—	—	0
	“ “ <i>ūdhas</i>	3	1	1	2	—	—	5	5
262	“ “ <i>rbhuksā</i> , <i>rbhuksán</i>	25	3	4	7	1	—	—	1

¹ See Table, § 263.

J. Stems in -ant, -at.

§ 264. The RV. has a few forms from the stem *dāt* in strong cases, the AV. one: *dān* x. 115. 2; *catādan* AV.; *çucidān* v. 7. 7; vii. 4. 2; *çrēnidān* x. 20. 3, and presumably *dāntam* iv. 6. 8, *ñranyadantam* v. 2. 3. Of these six forms, four occur in period A. On the other hand we have nom. pl. *ubhayādantaḥ* x. 90. 10, nom. sing. *dāntaḥ* vi. 75. 11, both in very late hymns, and many forms from the stem *dānta* in AV.

In vii. 4. 2, x. 20. 3 the metre causes difficulty. In vii. 4. we have a regular hymn in Triṣṭubh, and the correction *çucidantaḥ* is clearly an improvement: in x. 20 we have trochaic Gāyatrī, and a verse such as *bhrājate çrāyīnidantaḥ* has several parallels. We have however no parallel forms in -*danta*, and even the simple stem *dānta* does not appear till C₃, whereas both these verses are in A.¹

K. Possessive stems in -mant, -vant.

§ 265. Vocatives in -*maḥ*, -*vaḥ* are mostly found in period A: ² the later form -*man*, -*van* is rare till period C.¹

§ 266. Middle cases of *maghāvan* from this declension are mostly found in period A. The nom. sing. forms *maghāvān* iv. 16. 1, *sahāvān* i. 175. 2, 3 are early: but *sāhāvān* is later (ix. 90. 3; x. 83. 4).

§ 267. As for the stem *ārvant*, the forms *ārvā*, *ārvāṇam*, *arvāṇaḥ*, as if from *ārvan* are presumably the older: the numbers do not perhaps shew this conclusively, but they are consistent with it.¹

L. Perfect participles in -vas (-vāṇs), and comparatives in -yas (-yāṇs).

§ 268. Vocatives in -*vaḥ* 28, -*yaḥ* 2, belong to periods A B: yet amongst the occurrences of *mīdhuaḥ* (the only form with resolution) we find three in the period C₂, viz. ix. 113. 2; x. 85. 25, 45. There are no occurrences in AV. The later form -*van* occurs once only, in AV.

§ 269. Forms from the middle stem -*vat* are rare and sporadic: there are five instances only in RV., none in AV.

§ 270. Comparative and superlative forms in -*uṣṭara*, -*uṣṭama* appear to occur only in A and B. I note *viduṣṭara* 8, *āviduṣṭara*, *mīdhūṣṭama*. Otherwise the appearance of *uṣ*- in place of the strong stem is very rare: *cakrūṣam* x. 137. 1; *emuṣām* (?) viii. 66. 10; *ābībhyuṣaḥ* i. 11. 5.

§ 271. Stems in -ant, -at, -mant, -vant.

¹ See Table, § 271.

² To Lanman's list (pp. 519, 520) add *adrivaḥ* 47, as in Addenda.

Refer to §		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
264	Transition-stem <i>dānta</i>	0	--	--	0	--	1	10	11
265	Vocatives in <i>-maḥ, -vaḥ</i>	105	20	32	52	4	--	--	4
	“ “ <i>-man, -van</i>	1	1	1	2	5	--	8	13
266	Middle cases from stem <i>magh-</i> <i>āvant</i>	17	2	7	9	--	--	--	0
267	<i>ārvant</i> : <i>ārvā, ārvāṇam, ar-</i> <i>vāṇaḥ</i>	8	5	5	10	4	--	1	5
	<i>ārvān, ārvantam</i>	1	2	2	4	4	--	--	4

Stems in *-vas* (*-vāns*), *-yas* (*-yāns*).

Refer to §		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
268	Vocatives in <i>-vaḥ, -yaḥ</i>	14	7	6	13	--	3	--	3
269	Forms from middle stem <i>-vat</i> ..	1	--	3	3	1	--	--	1
270	Comparatives, etc. in <i>-uṣṭara,</i> <i>-uṣṭama</i>	4	--	6	6	--	--	--	0

M. Declension of numerals.

§ 272. The duals *duā*, etc., have been discussed above, § 92 : *duā* does not occur before consonants in RV. For the forms *trī*, *trīni*, see above, § 190 : forms from *astā* ‘eight’ are referred to, but not included, in § 148 above : the form presumably earliest (*astā*) occurs viii. 2. 41 : *astā* twice in the period B₂ (i. 35. 8 ; x. 72. 8), somewhat earlier than the *-au* forms from other duals : *astā* (according to Pp.) in x. 27. 15 (C). The AV. has *astāu* and *astā*.

N. Declension of pronouns.

§ 273. For the instrum. *tuā* (never *tvā*) see above, § 145 ; it occurs only in the phrase *tuā yujā*, and (probably) in composition.

§ 274. The RV. has the locative forms *tvé* (and *tué*), *asmé*, *yusmé* : but these hardly appear after C₁ : whereas the forms *māyi*, *tvāyi* and *asmāsu* come into regular use about the same time.¹

§ 275. The dative form *túbhya* sometimes appears in the text (13 times) : more often (18 times), this form, as well as *māhya* (13), *asmābhya* (17), may be restored on the evidence of metre. From the instances suggested by Grassmann, *māhya* in i. 50. 13 must be withdrawn. These forms occur in A and B.¹

§ 276. The dual forms *yuvābhyām*, *yuvābhyām* are both rare and apparently early : *yuvā* appears in A and B.¹

§ 277. In connexion with the personal pronouns the extraordinary growth of the use of the first personal pronoun in the singu-

¹ See Table, § 286.

lar is to be noted, although this seems due to a change of idiom rather than of grammatical form, and marks a development of the personal and dramatic elements in the RV. The forms are commoner in B than in A, and in C₁ C₂ and AV. are rapidly progressive: so that the AV., which has about the same amount of matter as B₂, has nearly four times as many occurrences.

The increase is most rapid in the forms *máyā*, *máhyam*, *mát*, and least so in the enclitic forms *mā*, *me*, which we may therefore perhaps consider to be relatively earlier forms.¹

§ 278. Except with *tuā*-, *tvā*- (for which see above, § 145), composition with any case-form of a pronoun is very rare: it is however found as late as the AV.

§ 279. In the declension of the pronoun *ta*, the later rule requires *sá* nom. sing. masc. before consonants, *só* in combination with initial *a* of the following word, *sá* before other vowels. The parallels in Greek and elsewhere, and the like forms *syá*, *eśá*, all point to *sá* as the original form: and it is practically maintained in classical Sanskrit, except before initial *a*: the alleged form *sáh* being little more than a fiction to excuse the exceptional hiatus.

It appears that this form before vowels presented a difficulty to the Vedic writers, and was therefore to a large extent avoided. If we consider the cases that actually occur, the substantial point is whether *sá* is or is not combined with a vowel following.

Combination occurs 31 times in RV. (Grassmann *sá* 28, *só* 3), hiatus 36 times (Gr. *sá* 11, *só* before *a* and double-consonant 23, before *a* and single consonant 2): that is to say, hiatus, always rare in other words ending in *-a*, is here the more common. But it appears that contraction gains ground in the RV., and in C₁ is actually the more common, whilst in the AV. again (Oldenberg, p. 462) we have always, or almost always, hiatus.

As the recognition of a form *sáh* must have checked contraction at once, we must infer that no such form was present to the minds of the writers till the period C₂, or that of the AV., but that hiatus was maintained on other grounds. At that time, the form *sáh* appeared, and quickly replaced *sá* before vowels, and contraction ceased.

Outside a few irregularities which cannot have a value as evidence, we find *sáh* in RV. only before initial *a* as *só*, where the written form is contradicted by the metre, and at the end of even *pādas*. The latter group of occurrences shews that the revisers of the Sanhita text recognized *sáh* as the fundamental form, in the same way as the later grammarians.¹

§ 280. Of the forms *sásmīn*, *tásmīn*, the former perishes early.¹

§ 281. The nom. sing. *eśá* is early, *eśáh* late: in the middle period B, both forms are rare: other forms of this pronoun (except perhaps the duals) are all more common late, see below, § 433. It therefore appears that the whole word has developed

¹ See Table, § 286.

from the nom. sing. masc. As to *ena* see below, § 433 : the dual form *enoh* occurs four times in RV., once as late² as C₂.

§ 282. The pronoun *adās* is much more common late :¹ *amā* occurs once as neut. pl. in AV.²

§ 283. The neuter *kād* is early, *kīm* late : *nākiḥ* is early, *mākiḥ* rare except in the period B₂.²

§ 284. The neut. pl. *imāni* is much later than the corresponding forms from *-a* stems : it is practically unknown till the period B₂, and even in AV. is the less common form. The instrumental *ayā* is early, as also is *enā*, except when an adverb.²

§ 285. The adjectival declension of *viśva* occurs four times, in A and B.

§ 286. Table of pronouns (flexional forms).

Refer to §		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
274	Locative (or dative) <i>tué, tvé</i>	37	13	17	30	2	--	--	2
	“ “ <i>asmé</i>	88	32	60	92	14	3	1	18
	“ “ <i>yusmé</i>	4	1	1	2	--	--	--	0
	All in <i>-é</i>	129	46	78	124	16	3	1	20
	Locative <i>māyi</i>	2	1	--	1	1	1	45	47
	“ <i>tvāyi</i>	0	--	--	0	--	--	9	9
	“ <i>asmāsu</i>	3	4	6	10	6	--	15	21
	All in <i>-i, -su</i>	5	5	6	11	7	1	69	77
275	Datives <i>túbhya, máhya, asmābhya</i>	31	14	15	29	--	1	--	1
276	Dual <i>yuvābhyām</i>	3	--	3	3	--	--	--	0
	“ <i>yuvābhyām</i>	5	--	1	1	1	--	--	1
	“ <i>yuvōḥ</i>	16	3	17	20	--	--	--	0
277	Other forms of 1st pers. sing. : <i>ahām</i>	42	14	48	62	24	35	175	234
	<i>mām</i>	11	6	9	15	8	8	44	60
	<i>māyā</i>	--	--	--	0	1	1	6	8
	<i>māhyam</i>	2	3	4	7	2	5	41	48
	<i>māt</i>	1	1	2	3	5	1	15	21
	<i>māma</i>	26	6	14	20	9	9	65	83
	enclitic forms : <i>mā</i>	11	14	46	60	20	11	176	207
	<i>me</i>	109	32	74	106	46	14	247	307
	All the last 8 forms	202	76	197	273	115	84	769	968
279	<i>sā</i> with Sandhi (<i>sā</i> and <i>so</i> , etc.)	8	6	11	17	6	--	--?	6
	“ “ “ Hiatus (<i>sā</i> and <i>so a</i> , etc.)	15	5	13	18	3	--	100+	103+
280	form <i>sāsmīn</i>	5	1	2	3	1	--	--	1
	<i>tāsmīn</i>	6	3	5	8	5	2	37	44
281	<i>eśā</i>	47	13	4	17	2	1	--	3
	<i>eśāḥ</i>	4	4	2	6	3	4	44	51
283	<i>kād</i>	17	10	6	16	1	--	--	1
	<i>kīm</i>	4	8	15	23	15	5	31	51
	<i>nākiḥ</i>	27	10	11	21	2	--	1	3
	<i>mākiḥ</i>	3	2	7	9	--	1	--	1
284	N. v. a. neut. pl. <i>imā</i>	26	9	13	22	8	2	7	17
	“ “ “ <i>imāni</i>	1	--	4	4	3	--	4	7
	<i>ayā</i>	17	3	3	6	--	--	--	0
	<i>enā</i>	9	5	1	6	2	1	--	3

¹ See § 433.

² See Table, § 286.

CHAPTER III. STEM-FORMATION OF NOUNS. §§ 287-312.

§ 287. The formation of the stems of nouns appears, as we have seen, in a fairly complete state in all parts of the Rigveda : where it is not easily separated from the case-formation, it has already been discussed : but a few general points still remain.

§ 288. Of monosyllabic root-stems about 110 are in use in RV. ; of these a large part (about 65) still remain in use after the time of the Brāhmanas, many of these being quite common words. Otherwise this declension decays somewhat rapidly, and of the remaining words (from this list, words marked by Whitney¹ as doubtful, and infinitives, are withdrawn) more than one-half the occurrences are in the period A.

The older words are: *ānh*, *ārc*, *īd*, *ūd* 2, *kīp* 7, *kṣām* 17 AV. 1, *kṣā* 26 AV. 1, *kṣīp* 12, *kṣū* 2 AV. 1, *kṣúbh*, *gúh* 2, *gf̥bh* 2, *tán* 27, *túc* 3, *túj* 5 AV. 1, *túr* 3, *dāc* 1, *div* 2, *drú* 7, *nābh*, *nūd* 25, *pīc*, *púr*, *pīks* 23, *pīc*, *pīt* 32, *psúr*, *bād̥h* 8, *mīh* 7, *mūr*, *mās* 2, *mīc*, *mīdh* 27 AV. 6, *rán* 2, *rīt*, *ríp* 5, *riṣ* 11, *vás*, *vīj* 2, *víd*, *víp* 16, *gās*, *gúbh* 48 AV. 7, *sp̥dh* 24, *sr̥dh* 18 AV. 1, *srū*, *hrūt* 2 AV. 1. The various times at which the more important words go out of use is shewn by the table, § 312.

§ 289. Closely connected with the history of the monosyllabic root-stems, yet somewhat distinct in character, is the disuse of masc. and neut. forms from the stem *māh*. The forms are *mahā* (n.) 4, *mahé* 80 AV. 5, *maháh* (abl.) 16, (gen.) 101 AV. 3, *mahī* (du. n.) 2, *maháh* (n. pl.) 3, (acc. pl.) 20, *mahām* (*mahāām*) 5. The decadent forms are replaced by those from *mahát*. It is noticeable that there is no transition to the stem *mahá*, which is equally early and to a large extent supplementary.²

§ 290. In a few words we have a distinct transition to an -a stem. Examples: (a) from stems in -ac, *uccá* 1 AV. 6, *tiraçcá* 2, *nīcá* AV. 7, *parācá* 6 AV. 5, *paçcá* 26 AV. 23, *paçcātāt* 4, *áp̥açcāddaghvan* 1 AV. 1, *prācá* 1: (b) from various consonantal stems: *bhrājá* 1 AV. 3 and *gúcibhrāja*: *atīyājá*, *anuyājá* 1 AV. 1, *jīvayājá*, *prayājá* 3 and AV. 1, *çatayājá* AV. 1: *adhirājá* 1 AV. 5, *grharājá* AV. 1, *dvirājá* AV. 1, *naksatrarājá* AV. 1: *pāda* 4 AV. 9, besides *pādaká*, *pādag̥hya* 2, and *nīpādá*: *çatādura* 2, *sudhūra*: *ánapasphurā*: *puródāça* AV. 2: *māsa* 10 AV. 23: *nāsā* AV. 1: *anīmīśá* 4; *mānśá* 2 and AV. 23. (c) from the root -han, we have derivatives in -hana, -ghna, -ha (Lanman, p. 479) perhaps in the order named. (d) *mahá* (see previous section) may be an instance of transition before the Vedic period. (e) for *dánta* see above § 264.³

§ 291. In the above cases we have the necessary conditions for a real transition, a decadent formation on the one hand, and a fully established and growing formation by its side. The stems

¹ Whitney, *Roots*, etc., *passim*.

² See Table, § 312.

which end in a suffixal consonant have occasionally parallel forms from *-a* stems: but in these cases the hypothesis of transition is much less certain. Where, however, the *-a* suffix is added to the consonantal suffix the presumption is that the shorter form is earlier.

§ 292. Corresponding to stems in *-van* we find *anarvá* 2 (see Lanman, p. 526), *ṛkvá*, *ṛbhva* 2, *takvá*, *vákva* 2, *vibháva*, *ṣikvá* AV. 1: to stems in *-man*, *darmá*, *dhárma* AV. 3, *priyádhāma*, *viśvákarma*, *vīrákarma*: to stems in *-an*, *anasthá*, *áha*, *ṣṛśá* AV. 5. The occurrences are few and sporadic, but *ṣṛśá* is a clear case of transition.

Besides these we have the two pairs *ájma* and *ájman*, *yāma* and *yāman*, the last two words each having several compounds. It would seem that *ájma*, *yāma* are the earlier forms.

There are also the lengthened forms *anarvána* 2, *áçna*, *ahna* in *aparāhñá* AV. 1, *nyáhna* AV. 1, *pūrvāhñá* RV., and *sāhna* AV. 1, *pūṣāna* and *satvaná* 2: but the forms are too few to enable us to draw any conclusion.

A few parallel forms in *-vas*, *ṛbhvas* 4, *khidvas*, *ṣikvas* 4, are early.¹

§ 293. From stems in *-in* we have the lengthened stems *varína*, *parameṣṭhina* (AV. 1).

§ 294. Corresponding to *-as* stems we have *-a* (or *-ā*) forms from a number of words: *āṅgira*, *adveṣá*, *áva*, *kránda* 1 AV. 2, and in *śúcikranda*, *cará*, *tára*, *duróka*, *niravá*, *purupéçā*, *prthujráya*, *vātasvana*, *vidradhá*, *heda* 2 and AV. 2. The instances are sporadic (Lanman, pp. 553-5).

There is also the pair of stems *çárdha* (with its compounds *praçardha*, *çárdhaniti*) and *çárdhas* (with *viçvāçardhas*): of which the latter is distinctly later.¹

There are only three lengthened forms noticed, *arṇasá*, *ājarasá*, and *parīnasá*: for *avasá* is a distinct word from *avas*.

§ 295. Corresponding to stems in *-us* we have *náhuṣa* 3 (besides two doubtful exx.), *mānuṣa* 3 (besides two doubtful exx.), and *vápuṣa*. These occur chiefly¹ in period B.

§ 296. The suffix *-ka* is proper to RV. (i.) in derivatives of words in *-ac*, (ii.) in the word *pāvaká*, (iii.) in the possessives *asmāka*, *yusmāka*. Otherwise this is a growing formation; and though RV. has more than 100 such words, and AV. about the same number, hardly a quarter of these are common to the two Vedas. Even *éka* 'one' (whatever the reason may be) becomes much commoner in the later hymns.¹

§ 297. The suffix *-la*, etc., is also late: see above § 122(e).

§ 298. The suffix *-anta* is hardly found before the AV. For *dánta* see above § 264. A substantive *paánta* is a more than doubtful explanation of the form *paántam*, which occurs only i. 122. 1; 155. 1; and x. 88. 1. Occurrences are found of *jīvantá* AV. 2, *tarantá*, *vasantá* 2 and AV. 5, *vāsantá* AV. 2, *veçantá* AV. 4, *sámanta* AV. 6, *hemantá* 1 and AV. 4.¹

¹ See Table, § 312.

§ 299. The suffixes *-tāt*, *-tāti*, are found side by side in RV. Of these *tāt* is the older, as the Greek parallels also indicate: no forms are found later than B₂: the transition to *-tāti* finds a parallel in Latin (e. g. *civitatium*).

Examples: *-tāt*, *uparātāt* 2, *devātāt* 8, *vrkātāt*, *satyātāt*, *sarvātāt* 3: *-tāti*, *aristātāti* 5 AV. 8, *āstatāti*, *grbhātāti*, *jyesthātāti* 1 AV. 1, *devātāti* 27, *vasūtāti* 2, *śāntāti* 3 AV. 1, *satyātāti*, *sarvātāti* 15 AV. 1. The AV. has also *ayakṣmātāti*, *dakṣātāti*, each once.¹

§ 300. The neuter suffix *-īman* does not occur after B₂, except once in AV. *sāvīman*. Examples in RV.: *dārīman*, *dhārīman* 2, *pārīman*, *bhārīman* 2, *vārīman* 5, *sārīman*, *sāvīman* 5, *stārīman*, *hāvīman* 9. The long vowel has its parallel in the lengthening of the final vowel of the first part of a compound.¹

§ 301. Feminine forms from stems in *-man*, *-van*, *-an* are occasionally found in RV.: but only one such form is found in C₂ and AV. Feminines in *-varī* are found in all parts of the RV., but are most common in C: whilst those in *-nī*, *-mnī* are hardly found before AV. For particulars, see Lanman, pp. 527, 528.¹

§ 302. The pronominal derivatives *tvāvat* 21, *māvat* 9, *yuvāvat*, *yusmāvat* are found in periods A B: but *tāvat* 6 AV. 16, *etāvat* 12 AV. 2, *yāvat* 8 AV. 40, are later. So *īyant* is early, but *kīyant* late.¹

§ 303. Stems in *-āna* are found in A and B: Examples: *āpnāvana* 2, *ūrdhvasānā*, *cyāvana* 8, *cyāvatāna*, *pārçāna* 3, *pīthāvāna*, *vāsāvāna* 5.¹

§ 304. Participials in *-atā* are comparatively early: Examples: *darçatā* 37 AV. 3: *darçataçrī*: *viçvādarçata* 10: *pacatā* 3: *paçyata* AV. 4: *bharatā* (except as pr. n.) 2: *yajatā* 46 AV. 2: *haryatā*, 39.¹

§ 305. For participials in *-su -yu*, see below §§ 421, 427.

§ 306. Stems in *-asī* are found in A and B: Examples: *atasī*, *dharnasī* 11, 1 *dhāsī* 6, 2 *dhāsī* 11, *sānasī* 15.¹

§ 307. Of secondary derivatives in *-van*, *maghāvan* (as applied to Indra) and *ātharvan* are freely used in late hymns: but *maghāvan* (except of Indra) and *ṛtāvan* are distinctly early. Others are rare and more common early: viz. *amatīvān*, *arātīvān* 4, *indhanvan*, *īghāvan*, *ṛnāvān* 2, *dhitāvan* 2, *muṣivān*, *gruṣṭivān* 7, *satyāvan* AV. 2, *samādvān* 2, *sahāvan* 5, *sāhovan* AV. 1, *svadhāvan* 5. Feminines in *-varī*, and derivatives, are not included.¹

§ 308. Feminine abstract nouns in *-tā*. If *sūnṛtā* 15 AV. 6 is to be reckoned here, it is the most common word of the class: *devātā* 'divinity' is used in C. Other words are rare: *agotā* 1 and AV. 1, *anapadyātū* AV. 1, *aprajāstā* AV. 1, *avīratā* 3, *janātā* AV. 1, *nagnātā* 1, *suksetrātā* AV. 1, *suvirātā* AV. 2: and as instrumentals only, *abrahmātā*, *iṣitatvātā*, *kavyātā*, *ḍinātā*,

¹ See Table, § 312.

puruṣātā 2, *puruṣatvātā* 2, *bandhūtā* 3, *mamātā*, *vasūtā*, *sanātā* 2, *susanītā*. The instrumentals are commonest in B₂, and this form is very probably the starting point of the declension.¹

§ 309. For the suffixes *-tāti*, *-tāt* see above § 299.

§ 310. Suffixes in *-tvana* (Whitney, Gr. § 1240) occur¹ most in A.

§ 311. With regard to the history of the suffixes in Sanskrit very little has as yet been done, and the sketch just made is therefore very slight. It shews that on this side also the periods C₁ C₂ of the RV. are in substantial agreement with the AV., and differ from the remainder of the RV. Between the periods A and B it shews but little difference: but in A there is a much greater use of monosyllabic root-stems, whilst the use of the suffix *-ka*, and the transition to *-a* stems is more marked in B. On the whole it seems clear that changes in the suffixes take place more slowly than in the endings, and that so far they are of subordinate importance.

§ 312. Stem-formation of nouns.

Refer to §		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
288	Monosyllabic root-stems :								
	<i>kṛp</i>	7	--	--	0	--	--	--	0
	<i>kṣām</i>	8	1	4	5	4	--	1	5
	<i>kṣā</i>	7	8	11	19	--	--	1	1
	<i>kṣip</i>	5	4	3	7	--	--	--	0
	<i>tān</i>	17	7	1	8	--	2	--	2
	<i>tūj</i>	5	--	--	0	--	--	1	1
	<i>drū</i>	4	1	--	1	2	--	--	2
	<i>nīd</i>	16	5	4	9	--	--	--	0
	<i>pṛkṣ</i>	13	6	4	10	--	--	--	0
	<i>pṛt</i>	25	5	2	7	--	--	--	0
	<i>bādḥ</i>	3	2	3	5	--	--	--	0
	<i>mīh</i>	2	2	3	5	--	--	--	0
	<i>mīdh</i>	11	4	8	12	2	2	6	10
	<i>rip</i>	2	1	2	3	--	--	--	0
	<i>riṣ</i>	6	3	2	5	--	--	--	0
	<i>vip</i>	12	2	2	4	--	--	--	0
	<i>śūbh</i>	23	7	15	22	2	1	7	10
	<i>spīdh</i>	12	2	7	9	1	2	--	3
	<i>sridh</i>	15	1	2	3	--	--	1	1
	Other words in list	21	5	13	18	2	--	2	4
	All words not used after Brāh- maṇas	214	66	86	152	13	7	19	39
289	Form <i>mahé</i>	50	18	11	29	1	--	5	6
	“ <i>mahāh</i> , abl. gen. s., n. acc. pl.	74	22	41	63	2	1	3	6
	Forms <i>mahā</i> , <i>-hī</i> (du.), <i>-hām</i>	5	2	4	6	--	--	--	0
	“ from stem <i>mahā</i>	21	5	14	19	2	--	--	2
290	Stems in <i>-cā</i> , from <i>-ac</i>	12	3	11	14	7	9	42	58
	Other transitions to <i>-a</i> , as in list (b)	5	5	7	12	11	9	72	92
	Forms in <i>-hana</i>	2	--	1	1	--	--	--	0
	“ <i>-ghna</i>	3	2	1	3	--	1	--	0
	<i>-ha</i>	2	1	--	1	--	--	4	4

¹ See Table, § 312.

Refer to §		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
292	Transition-stems in <i>-ma, -va, -a</i>	5	2	5	7	3	1	9	13
"	Stem { <i>ājma</i>	2	3	2	5	1	--	--	1
"	{ <i>ājman</i>	5	1	2	3	1	1	2	4
"	{ <i>yāma</i> and compounds	19	11	4	15	1	1	1	3
"	{ <i>yāman</i>	27	15	21	36	2	--	3	5
"	Stems in <i>-vana, -na</i>	3	--	2	2	1	1	3	5
"	Parallel forms in <i>-vas</i>	6	2	1	3	--	--	--	0
294	<i>-a</i> forms from <i>-as</i> stems	8	4	2	6	--	--	4	4
	Stems { <i>çārdha</i>	15	9	5	14	--	--	--	0
	{ <i>çārdhas</i>	13	8	9	17	3	1	2	6
295	Forms as from stem <i>-uṣa</i>	1	1	5	6	--	--	--	0
296	Suffix <i>-ka</i> : in derivatives of <i>-ac</i>	36	11	29	40	4	1	7	12
"	<i>pāvakā</i>	46	13	20	33	--	--	6	6
"	<i>asmāka, yuṣmāka</i>	20	5	12	17	--	--	--	0
"	<i>ēka</i>	60	27	66	93	35	21	158	214
"	remainder	89	47	109	156	37	45	189	271
298	Suffix <i>-anta</i>	0	--	1	1	--	3	23	26
299	Suffix <i>-tāt</i>	5	5	5	10	--	--	--	0
	<i>-tāti</i>	24	7	18	25	4	3	13	20
300	Neuter suffix <i>-īman</i>	11	4	12	16	--	--	--	0
301	Feminine forms :								
	(a) in { <i>-man</i>	4	1	5	6	1	--	1	2
	{ <i>-van</i>	3	2	--	2	2	--	--	2
	{ <i>-an</i>	3	1	2	3	--	--	--	0
	(b) in { <i>-mñi</i>	0	--	--	0	--	--	6	6
	{ <i>-vari</i>	22	6	14	20	6	5	27	38
	{ <i>-ñi</i>	0	1	2	3	--	4	2	6
302	<i>tvāvat</i> , etc.	19	6	7	13	--	--	--	0
	<i>tāvāt</i> , etc.	9	1	9	10	2	5	58	65
	<i>īyant</i>	3	--	--	0	--	--	--	0
	<i>kiyant</i>	--	1	3	4	2	--	6	8
303	Words in <i>-āna</i>	9	6	5	11	--	1	--	1
304	Participials in <i>-atā</i>	60	31	41	72	6	--	9	15
306	Stems in <i>-asi</i>	24	8	12	20	--	--	--	0
307	Stem <i>maghāvan</i> (exc. of Indra)	70	14	24	38	2	--	1	3
	<i>rtāvan</i>	37	17	19	36	2	2	1	5
	Other secondary derivatives in								
	<i>-van</i> as stated	15	6	7	13	2	1	3	6
308	Feminine abstracts in <i>-tā</i> :								
	<i>sūñtā</i>	9	2	4	6	--	--	6	6
	1 <i>devātā</i>	0	--	--	0	1	1	31	33
	instrumentals	3	3	9	12	1	--	--	1
	rest	4	--	1	1	--	--	7	7
310	Stems in <i>-tvana</i>	15	1	8	9	--	--	--	0

CHAPTER IV. VERB-INFLEXION. §§ 313-365.

§ 313. The verbal system in Sanskrit is of great complexity: not only is the number of forms in all its parts greater than in any of the cognate languages, but the system as a whole embraces under the description of "secondary conjugation" groups of forms such as in other languages are usually considered as distinct though allied verb-systems. For our present purpose it seems convenient to make a division somewhat analogous to that between noun-flexion and noun stems: and to treat under the heading of verb-flexion those parts of the system in which the variations are almost purely formal, e. g. terminations of all kinds, the use of the augment and of reduplication, and the infinitives and gerunds: whilst under the heading of verbal stems we treat in the main of the growth and decay of the voice, tense, and mood formations, and of secondary conjugation, matters more closely allied to questions of syntax and style.

§ 314. As in the case of nouns, we find that the terminations of the forms of verbal systems are often undergoing rapid change in the Vedic period, and are therefore valuable indications of date. But our discussion of noun stems has only been fragmentary: whilst the verb-systems shew in their use and disuse of particular stems change upon the largest scale: change which is often too slow to aid us much in the construction of a detailed chronological theory, but which is of great interest in itself and of importance as a criterion of the exactness of general results.

§ 315. A precise and logical distinction between flexion and stem-formation in the case of the verb-system is perhaps not attainable, and is not aimed at in these chapters: for instance the infinitive forms, though derived from many different stems, are all treated of under the heading of flexion: and the gerunds and gerundives are conveniently considered in connection with them.

Personal Endings.

§ 316. Third person singular. In the present middle we find occasionally the ending *-e*. This formation is disappearing, but not rapidly, in the Vedic period.¹ The Rigveda shews about 146 forms from 24 stems:² viz., *īce* 29, *citē*, *vidē* (rt. 3 *vid* 'find') 19, *duhē* 8, *bruve*, *huvē*, *mahē*, *nišēve* (probably) x. 95. 8, *gāye* 11, *stāve* 6: *grñē* 6, *rñve*, *grñvē* 19, *sunvē* 3, *hinvē* 2: *jāṅgahe*, *badbadhē* 3, *bābadhe* 2, *sarsrē* 2, *jōḡve*, *yoyuve*, *cārkr̥ṣe* (proba-

¹ See Table, § 335.

² The list of forms so far is taken from *Delbrück*, § 103; but *jōṣe* i. 120. 1, and *vr̥ñjē* are omitted, as the instances are very doubtful.

bly) x. 22. 1; 74. 1; 105. 4 :¹ to which may be added *nitoṣé* iv. 38. 1, *dadhē* 23.¹ In AV. we have four stems only, *īce* 11, *vidé*, *duhé* 14, *dadhē* 3.²

§ 317. First person plural. There are two forms of the primary ending, *-masi* and *-maḥ*, of which the latter is exclusively used in classical Sanskrit. As the causatives are specially common in this person, and employ almost exclusively the form in *-masi*, these forms are reckoned separately : amongst them are included forms from the stem *vājāya-*. The whole number of forms and especially the forms from causatives are much more common in C than earlier : and in particular they are frequent in prayers against diseases and other charm-hymns. If we consider the relative frequency of those forms which are not from causatives, we find that *-maḥ* forms are comparatively rare in A B, but in C almost as common as those in *-masi*. But *-maḥ* is more common in A than in B : a result the more remarkable because the metres of B decidedly favour the form *-maḥ*. Upon the whole results we are not entitled to conclude that *-masi* is the earlier form : it may very well be a variation of an earlier *-maḥ*, reaching its maximum of favour in the period B₁ (16:2) and then again giving way to its predecessor, though retaining its position in causatives up to the end of the AV. period.³

§ 318. Second person plural. Forms in *-thana*, *-tana* are found in all parts of the active verb, including the aorists : they are particularly common in the period C₁, and there are many exx. in i. 161. In the AV. they are much less used.²

These forms are closely parallel to that in *-masi*. Although greatly favoured by the metres of A, they are not most common in that period. The inference is that the forms are not primitive, but reach their maximum of favour³ in the period C₁.

§ 319. Third person plural. A group of personal endings which contain the element *-r*, but are not found in classical Sanskrit, shew in RV. and AV. steady decay : viz., *-re*, *-ire*, *-rate* in the present : *-rata* in the optative : *-rīre* perfect : *-ranta*, *-ran*, *-ram* chiefly in aorists. On the other hand the imperatives *duhrām*, *duhratām* are late : see below, § 327.⁴

The examples are *duhré* 7, *vidré* (rt. 3 *vid*), *çére* AV. : *invire*, *ṛnvire*, *pinvire*, *ṛṇvire* 7, *sunvire* 4, *hinvire* 8 :⁵ *duhrate* 2,⁶ and once in AV. : *cucyavīrata*, *juserata* 2, *bharerata*, *maṇsīrata* :⁷ *cikitrīre* 3, *jagrābhīrīre*, *dadrīre*, *bubhūjīrīre*, *vividrīre*, *sasjīrīre* :⁸ *āvavṛtranta* :⁹ in *-ran* 43 and once in AV., as given by Delbrück,¹⁰ except that I reckon *asthīran* as occurring twice in i. 135. 1 : in *-ram* 16 as given by Delbrück : in all, 105 exx. in RV. and 3 in AV.³

¹ For *dadhē* see Whitney, § 669, and Grassmann *sub voce*.

² Delbrück, §§ 49, 53.

³ See Table below, § 335.

⁴ Whitney, § 550 : cf. § 629.

⁵ Delbrück, § 119.

⁶ Ib. § 118.

⁷ Ib. § 123.

⁸ Ib. § 121.

⁹ Ib. § 122.

¹⁰ Ib. § 124.

§ 320. Subjunctive endings :¹ first person. For the dual and plural active we have the forms *-āva*, *-āma* only : of these the former is rare, but most used in the periods B₂ C₁. For the dual middle we have a form *-vahai*, which is also rare and somewhat late. For each of the other persons we find a shorter and a longer form, viz.:

- 1 sing. act. *-ā*, *-āni*.
- 1 sing. mid. *-e*, *-ai*.
- 1 plur. mid. *-mahe*, *-mahai*.

It is true that the first sing. mid. in *-e* is only found from aorist stems *-s*, as *stuśé* (Whitney, § 894): but the forms seem to be clearly subjunctive. The ending *-āni* cannot be rightly termed a "primary ending": it seems to stand to *-ā* in the verb-system in precisely the same relation as in the nom. voc. acc. neut. pl. in the noun-system.

The figures shew that the shorter forms are in all cases earlier in date than the longer: and that the form *-vahai* may rightly be classed with the later group of forms, although it so happens that no examples of the correlative *-vahe* occur.²

Aorists imperative are seldom used except in the earlier hymns (see below, § 407a) and therefore shew usually the earlier forms: but it does not appear that any of these endings is appropriate to a particular tense.

Examples. A. Shorter forms. 1st sing. in *-ā*: 13 exx. of 11 forms are given by Delbrück :³ of these *brāvā*, *rīradhā*, *vocā* are aorists. 1st sing. in *-e* (*-se*): *arcase*, *rñjase* 5, *ohise*, *kṛse* x. 49. 7, *gāyise*, *grñśé* 12, *punīśé*, *yājase*, *sasāhise* x. 180. 1,⁴ *stuśé* 22,⁵ *hise*: 47 in all. 1st. plur. in *-mahe*: present *ilāmahe*, *dadāmahe* (iii. 21. 5, perhaps ind.): aorist *kārāmahe* 8 and AV. 1, *dhāmahe* 3, *yāciśāmahe*, *sanīśāmahe*; 15 exx., and one in AV. Of all forms, 75 exx. in RV, one in AV.

B. Longer forms. 1st. sing. in *-āni*: present *carāni*, *jāhāni* AV. 1, *tarāni* AV. 3, *dadhāni*, *nāyāni*, *pacāni*, *pāgyāni* AV. 1, *bhājāni*, *rājāni* 2, *vādāni* AV. 3, *vāhāni*, *sanāvāni* AV. 1, *srjāni*, *hārāni* AV. 2: *jañghānāni*, *randhayāni*: aorist *kārāni* 2, *gamāni* 2, *gāni*, *brāvāni* 2; *bhuvāni*; *stośāni*; *davisāni*: in all, 21 exx. in RV., besides 11 in AV. 1st. sing. in *-ai*: from 11 stems as given by Delbrück,⁶ of which there occur more than once *kṛnāvai* 2, *stāvai* 3, making 14 exx., besides *gāchai* once in AV.: of these, two are from *s*-aorists. 1st. dual in *-vahai* from 8 stems as given by Delbrück;⁷ each form occurs once only: *brāvāvahai*, *vocāvahai* are aorists. AV. has three forms: *janayāvahai*, *sācāvahai* 2. 1st plur. in *-mahai* from 12 stems as given by Delbrück,⁸ of which

¹ Not including those of the "improper conjunctive": see §§ 392, 398.

² See Table, § 335. ³ Delbrück, § 5. ⁴ Delbrück, as 2 sing. perf.

⁵ Delbrück, p. 181: but I include also viii. 52. 3 and x. 93. 9.

⁶ § 18.

⁷ § 21.

⁸ § 24.

there occur more than once *nācāmahai* 2, *brāvāmahai* 2, *bhunājāmahai* 2, making 15 occurrences: *gāmāmahai* and *brāvāmahai* are aorists: the AV. has 6 forms, *jānāmahai*, *bhājāmahai* 2, *bhunājāmahai*, *strnavāmahai*, *kvayāmahai*. Of all forms there are 58 exx. in RV., 21 in AV.

§ 321. Second and third persons sing. active. We find the pairs of forms *-s*, *-si*; *-t*, *-ti*: and in the middle *-se*, *-sai*; *-te*, *-tai*. The "secondary" forms *-s*, *-t*, are the more common in RV. and AV.: and in the Brāhmaṇas are almost exclusively used.¹ But up to the time of the AV. the longer "primary" forms are growing in favour. As to the middle voice, *-se*, *-te* are always used in RV., *-sai*, *-tai* in AV. and Brāhmaṇas. But the form *yajātai* is found i. 84. 18.^{2 3} In both voices therefore the tendency is towards lengthening.

§ 322. Dual. The active endings are *-thaḥ*, *-taḥ*: in the middle the endings *-aithe*, *-aite* are found in nine words, each occurring once only, and in the earliest part of the RV.: the instances are given by Delbrück.^{3 4} The regular *-āthe* (2 du.) occurs in the passive *ūhyāthe* iv. 56. 6, with middle meaning.

§ 323. Plural. The active endings are *-ma*, *-tha*, *-an*: in the middle, the 2d person is rare: in RV. there is one ex. in *-dhve* (ii. 14. 8)⁵ in B₁: and there are three in *-dhuai* (i. 37. 14; i. 161. 8; vii. 59. 6)⁶ in B₁ and C: and the latter form as *-dhvai* is again found in the Brāhmaṇas.⁶ The third person is also rare: *-nte* is found a few times in RV.:⁷ in the Brāhmaṇas *-ntai*⁸ occurs.

§ 324. Thus throughout the subjunctive mood we have change at work in the endings, and almost everywhere towards lengthening: and this change is further accompanied by change in the thematic vowel.⁹ This unsettlement probably tended largely to the disuse at a later time of the subjunctive mood-forms: see below, § 393.

§ 325. 2. 3. sing. imperative in *-tāt*. This form is increasingly used in the later periods: it is usually of the 2d person. There are 21 exx. in RV.⁹ and I note 18 in AV.: viz. *asyatāt*, *gachatāt* 3, *grhñtāt*, *jahītāt*, *jāgrtāt*, *jinvatāt*, *jānītāt*, *jñātāt*, *dhārayatāt*, *dhāvātāt*, *mṛdatāt*, *rakṣatāt*, *vahatāt*, *smaratāt* 2, *srutāt*.⁹

§ 326. 2. sing. imperative in *-si*. This appears to be most common in the period A B₁, and is very rare in C or later. Delbrück⁹ gives 153 exx. from RV., from which are to be withdrawn *kṣesi* vi. 4. 4, x. 51. 5 (so Grassmann), and to which are to be added *dakṣi* ii. 1. 10, *pārṣi* i. 174. 9: *mātsi* i. 9. 1, ix. 97. 42

¹ Whitney, § 615.

² See Table, § 335.

³ Ib. § 65.

⁴ Delbrück, § 112.

⁵ § 30.

⁶ Whitney, §§ 560, 561.

⁷ Delbrück, §§ 62, 106.

⁸ Whitney, § 561.

⁹ Delbrück, §§ 38, 77.

(second occurrence) : *yakṣi* x. 1. 6 : making 156 exx. : from AV. I note only *kārṣi*, *nikṣi* 4, *vrkṣi*, *satsi*.¹ See Whitney, § 624.

It is characteristic of these forms that the stem to which they are attached is in all cases the simple root, although often neither root-present nor root-aorist is in general use. From this peculiarity it seems reasonable to associate with them the following middle forms, which shew the usual terminations : *trāṣva* 2 : *dhīṣvá* 8, *mātsva* 13, *yákṣva* (*yaj*) 3, *rāṣva* 21, *vāṣva* 4, *sakṣva* (*sac*), *trādhvam* 2. These forms¹ appear to be still earlier.²

§ 327. Imperatives in *-ām* hardly occur before AV. : but *duhām* is found twice in period C, viz. i. 164. 27 ; iv. 57. 7. AV. has *inddhām* 2, *duhām* 7, *rundhām*, *vidām*, *ṣayām* 4 : and the similar plural forms *duhrām* 6, *duhratām* 5.

§ 328. The impv. *edhi* (as 'be') is late : *daddhī* (whether from *dā* or *dhā*) is early.

§ 329. Verbs of the *-nu*, *-u* class form the 2. sing. impv. as follows : (a) *ṣṛnudhī* (*-ī*) occurs 5 times in the earliest part of the RV. ; (b) if the root ends in a consonant (except *n*), *-hi* is found : the RV. has one exception, *ūrnu* ix. 96. 11 ; (c) after a vowel or *-n*, *-hi* is omitted with frequency in the AV., and always in classical Sanskrit. But this omission is more frequent in period A than in B.

The exx. are : *-hi* retained : *inuhi*, *kṛnuhī* 28 and AV. 5, *cinuhī*, *tanuhi* 5, *dhūnuhi* 3, *ṣṛnuhī* 7 and AV. 1, *sanuhī*, *spṛnuhī*, *hinuhī* 2 : 49 in RV., 6 in AV. *-hi* omitted : *inú*, *kuru* 2 and AV. 6, *kṛnu* 8 and AV. 26, *tanu* 1 and 2 in AV., *ṣṛnu* 3 and AV. 2, *sunú*, *hinu* 2 : 18 in RV., 36 in AV.¹

§ 330. The imperative in *-āna* in the *-nā*, *-nī* class is late. Exx. *aṣāna* 2 AV. 1 : *gṛhānā* x. 103. 12, AV. 1 : *badhāna* AV. 1, *stabhāna* AV. 1. But there are in RV. no corresponding forms of any other type where the root ends in a consonant : AV. has *grbhñāhi*, *grhnāhi*.²

§ 331. Perfect stem. The personal endings shew few variations. For the first and third pers. sing. the ending *-ā* is quoted occasionally as a variant of *-ā* (e. g. *bibhāyā* viii. 45. 35) and twice as a variant of *-au* (*paprá* i. 69. 1, *jahā*? viii. 45. 37). These three occurrences are all in period A : the analogy of the dual and locative forms in *-ā* *-au* in noun-declension make it probable that *-ā* was the original ending from stems derived from roots in *-ā*.

§ 332. Various personal endings normally in *-a* shew frequent lengthening to *-ā*.⁴ As this phenomenon is probably not altogether independent of metrical position its discussion is not here attempted.

§ 333. Variations of a formal character affecting the thematic or root-vowel may conveniently be referred to here. Of these

¹ See Table, § 335.

² Corresponding to *māsva*, we find both *māsi* and *māhi*.

³ Whitney, § 723.

⁴ Whitney, § 248c : Benfey, *Abh. Gött. Ges.* xix.-xxi. (1874-6).

the most important is the use of a strong form of the stem in the 2d pers. dual and plural of the present and root-aorist stems, in the indicative and imperative moods. It is less often found after the period C₁.

Examples : present 2 dual *yuyotam* 2, *hinotam* ; 2 pl. *iyarta* 1 AV. 1, *éta* AV. 1, *étana* 3, *unátta*, *krnóta* 5, *krnótana* 5, *juhóta* 12, *juhótana* 6, *dádāta*, *dadātana*, *tanota* 1 in AV., *dádhāta* 14 AV. 3, *dádhātana* 11, *pipartana* (1 par) 2, *pipartana* (2 par) 4, *punāta*, *bravītana* 2, *yunākta* 2, *yuyóta* 9, *yuyótana* 3, *çṛnóta* 1 AV. 2, *çṛnotana* 2, *sunóta* 5 AV. 1, *sunótana* 3, *stota* 2, *hinóta* 9, *hinotana* : all du. and pl., RV. 109, AV. 9. Imperfect 2 pl. *akṛṇota*, *akṛṇotana* 3, *ājahātana*, *ādadāta*, *ādadhāta* : total 7. Root-aorist 2 du. : *kārtam* AV. 2, *gantām* 13, *varttam* 2, *vartam* : 2 pl. *kārta* 9, *kārtana* 6, *gānta* 9, *gāntana* 10, *varta*, *çróta* 4, *sóta* 3, *sošana*, *hēta* : *āhetana* : in all, 61 in RV., 2 in AV.

A few forms are found in the singular : *çaçādhi* 2, *çiçādhi* 4, and from rt. 2 *yu*, *yuyodhi* 7 : in all, 13.

§ 334. In the middle forms of rt. *dhā* the RV. occasionally retains the thematic vowel : viz. *dadhidhvē* 4, *dadhiṣvá* 7 and AV. 1, *dadhidhvam* 3. The occurrences are chiefly in period A, and are classified by Whitney, *Roots*, etc., as perfects.

§ 335. Table shewing the use of the personal endings, etc.

Refer to §		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
316	3d. pers. sing. pres. mid. in -e...	74	22	37	59	7	6	29	42
317	1st. pers. plural, primary tenses:								
	(a) from non-causatives: in - <i>masi</i>	45	15	19	34	7	5	85	97
	- <i>maḥ</i>	15	1	5	6	5	4	71	80
	(b) from causatives: in - <i>masi</i> ..	17	1	1	2	--	11	39	50
	- <i>maḥ</i>	1	1	1	2	--	--	4	4
318	2d pers. pl. in - <i>thana</i> , - <i>tana</i> ...	52	27	44	71	20	9	13	42
319	3d pers. pl.: forms containing - <i>r</i> , except <i>duhrām</i> , <i>duhratām</i>	56	24	16	40	7	2	4	13
320	3d pers. pl.: <i>duhrām</i> , <i>duhratām</i>	0	--	--	0	--	--	11	11
	1st pers. subjunctive (imperative):								
	(a) shorter forms: - <i>ā</i>	4	2	4	6	3	--	--	3
	- <i>e</i> (- <i>se</i>)	29	9	9	18	--	--	--	0
	- <i>mahe</i>	6	3	5	8	--	1	1	2
	All shorter forms	39	14	18	32	3	1	1	5
	(b) longer forms: - <i>āni</i>	3	1	3	4	12	2	11	25
	- <i>ai</i>	2	--	3	3	7	2	1	10
	- <i>vahai</i>	3	--	1	1	3	1	3	7
	- <i>mahai</i>	6	--	2	2	4	3	6	13
	All longer forms	14	1	9	10	26	8	21	55

Refer to §		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
321	2. 3. sing. subj. in -s, -t-----	236	85	131	216	49	21	131	201
	“ “ -si, -ti-----	82	26	50	76	27	15	76	118
	2. 3. sing. subj. mid. in -se, -te-	43	10	27	37	13	3	--	16
	“ “ -sai, -tai-----	0	--	1	1	--	--	15	15
322	2. 3. dual subj. mid. in -aithe, -aite-----	9	--	--	0	--	--	--	0
325	2. 3. sing. impv. in -tāt-----	4	1	10	11	--	6	18	24
326	2 sing. impv. in -si-----	73	32	50	82	1	--	7	8
	Corresponding forms in -sya, -dhvam-----	36	9	8	17	1	--	--	1
327	3 sing. impv. in -ām: pl. -rām, -ratām-----	0	--	--	0	2	--	26	28
328	Form <i>edhi</i> -----	5	1	3	4	1	5	16	22
	“ <i>daddhi</i> -----	6	1	1	2	--	--	--	0
329	“ <i>ṛṇudhi</i> (-ī)-----	5	--	--	0	--	--	--	0
	Ending -hi retained in certain verbs-----	21	7	19	26	1	1	6	8
	Ending -hi omitted in certain verbs-----	9	--	5	5	--	4	36	40
333	Strong stems in 2 du. pl. present	43	20	30	50	15	1	9	25
	“ “ “ imperfect	1	1	2	3	3	--	--	3
	“ “ “ root-aorist	41	11	6	17	2	1	2	5
	“ “ 2 sing. pres. impv.	6	2	3	5	1	1	--	2
	All forms-----	91	34	41	75	21	3	11	35
334	Forms <i>dadhidhvē</i> , <i>dadhiṣvā</i> and <i>dadhidhvam</i> -----	9	2	2	4	1	--	1	2

Augment, Reduplication, etc.

§ 336. The frequent occurrence in the RV. of the forms of the past tenses of the indicative mood without the augment is a well-known feature of the hymns: but it is not always easy to distinguish these occurrences from the identical forms of the “improper subjunctive.” For our present purpose the distinction has little practical importance, and it will be sufficient to accept the lists as drawn up by Professor J. Avery in a previous number of this Journal.²

§ 337. It is necessary at once to distinguish between the ‘absolute’ frequency of the unaugmented forms, and their ‘relative’ frequency as compared with the corresponding augmented forms. In the whole of period C the unaugmented forms do not number one hundred, whilst the augmented forms exceed 1800. The unaugmented forms are therefore both absolutely and relatively rare. In the periods A and B the unaugmented forms number 426 and 561 respectively, that is to say, they are quite common, and there are absolutely more occurrences in B than in

¹ Whitney, §§ 563, 587.² Vol. xi., pp. 326-361.

A.¹ But the augmented forms in periods A and B number 928 and 1763 respectively. Therefore in A the unaugmented forms are somewhat less than one-third, in B somewhat less than one-fourth of the whole: so that relatively to the whole number of historic forms they are of diminishing importance.²

§ 338. If we consider the different tense-stems we find that the pluperfect forms are always very few in number, and no unaugmented forms are found after the period B.³ As to the present stems, the relative frequency of the unaugmented forms diminishes regularly: a result of which the importance is to some extent, but not largely, qualified by our previous use of these occurrences as a determining factor in the assignment of hymns to the period B rather than A,⁴ and *vice versa*. In other words, the augmented forms of the present tense grow greatly in importance in the periods B₁ B₂, and after that time become stationary: whilst the unaugmented past forms grow but slightly in importance in B₁ and afterwards rapidly become fewer.⁵

§ 339. Turning to the aorist-stems, we do not find the same regularity. The use of the augmented forms is as nearly as possible stationary throughout the whole period: that is to say, the number of forms is almost exactly proportional to the amount of matter in each period. If, however, we take into account that the periods B₁ and B₂ contain a much greater proportion of historical matter, and in consequence about one and a half times as many historical forms of all kinds, we find that the augmented aorist is relatively in disfavour in period B, but loses ground no further in period C.²

§ 340. As to the unaugmented aorist-forms, if we take the whole period B, the number of forms is, relatively to the amount of matter, the same as in A: so that these forms are in exactly the same disfavour as the augmented aorist-forms: but on the other hand in period C they disappear rapidly, though not quite regularly. But if we compare the periods A and B₁ only, the result is different: for the number of unaugmented forms in B₁ shews a distinct increase as compared either with the augmented forms or the amount of matter.⁵ In A the unaugmented forms are 24 per cent. of all the aorist-forms, in B₁ 29 per cent. The importance of this result is somewhat increased by our previous use of the unaugmented aorist-forms, amongst others, as a deter-

¹ The amount of matter in B is greater than that in A by about one-fifth.

² See Table, § 353.

³ See the list in § 410.

⁴ KZ. xxxiv. pp. 309, 330. On account of the comparatively large number of forms in this category, some allowance must be made for this difficulty: but it will be seen by reference to KZ. p. 315 that all the flexional forms together have had comparatively small effect on the detailed classification.

⁵ B₁ contains about one half as much matter as A.

mining factor in the assignment of hymns to the period A rather than B :¹ see KZ. xxxiv. p. 309.

§ 341. The conclusions to be drawn from the statistics on these points are not easily determined : but it would, I believe, be a mistake to attribute the results to chance, or to consider them as destructive to the general argument by which the literary epochs of the RV. have been provisionally defined. The number of occurrences is sufficiently large to lead us to look for a cause for the change of proportions : and whilst we cannot but believe that those hymns which differ most widely from the AV. in their whole structure are most widely separated from it in date, it would be contrary to reason to expect that the same amount of divergence should be shewn in every particular.

§ 342. In the primitive Indo-European or "Teutaryan" language the augment was, according to Delbrück's opinion², a necessary part of every historic tense-form. Forms without augment constitute therefore a phenomenon of which we can trace the disappearance in Sanskrit and in Greek, but of the beginnings of which we have no literary record. As regards the forms of the present stem, the usage is already in decay in the earliest periods of the RV., but as regards aorist-forms we can trace no sign of this decay until the period B₂. The evidence available to us rather goes to shew that the usage was still progressive in the period B₁. The stationary position of the augmented aorist-forms during the whole Vedic period is a curious result of the play of several opposing forces ; and as will appear below,³ is not inconsistent with the fact that the aorist-system as a whole is already in its decay.

§ 343. Augment *ā-*. This is not infrequent in RV., occurring mostly in the period B. Whitney⁴ quotes nine verbs, and I follow him, including *ānaṭ*⁵ and excluding *āṣita*.⁶ The exx. are *ānaṭ* 28, *āyunak*, *āyukta*, *āraik* 4, *ārinak*, *āvar* 16 and AV. 1, *āvidhyat* 2, *āvṛnak* 4, *āvṛnī* ; in all, in RV. 58, AV. 1.¹

§ 344. Reduplication. An irregular reduplication is found in RV. in the presents *ḍiḍi-*, *ḍiḍhi-*, *pīpī-*.⁷ Of these *ḍiḍhi* is more common in the later hymns, and is also found in the Brāhmaṇas : the other stems are early.

§ 345. In the perfect a long vowel in the reduplicated syllable is not rare in RV., and continues to occur in AV. and Brāhmaṇas, though more rarely. From roots *kīp* and *gar* 'wake' it is found even in classical Sanskrit : with these we are not further concerned here.

It is not easy to distinguish these forms from intensives : I follow Whitney's later classification.⁸ From the list given in his grammar⁹ *tan* must be deleted : to it must be added *ḍṛh*, *paj*,

¹ See Table, § 353.

² Delbrück, p. 80.

³ § 398.

⁴ § 585.

⁵ But see Delbrück, p. 79.

⁶ Delbrück, l. c.

⁷ Whitney, § 676.

⁸ *Roots*, etc., pp. 219-222.

⁹ § 786.

rañh, raks, van, vas 'clothe,' *hrs*: also *bhī* (in the Ait. Brāhmaṇa and Ait. Āraṇyaka only). In the AV. occur *trp, trs, dhr, dhṛs, mah, vrt, vrdh, çad, sah*: *mī, dīdhī, hīd*: in the Brāhmaṇas *dhr, dhṛs, mah, ran, van*: *hīd*.

There appears to be a diminution of the frequency of the forms including *ā* in the period C₁ and subsequently: and in the forms including *ī* and *ū* in the period B₂ and subsequently.²

§ 346. The reduplication syllable *ān* is found equally in all parts of the Rīgveda.¹ Examples: *ānājē* 5, *ānājre, ānājānā, ānāñça* 3 AV. 1, *ānāça, ānaçma, ānaçá* 4, *ānaçúh* 21: *ānagyaṁ*: *ānaçé* 6 AV. 7: *ānaçānā* AV. 3: *ānrcúh* 4 AV. 1: *ānrce*: *ānrðhe*: *ānrðhúh* AV. 1. All exx., RV. 50, AV. 13.²

§ 347. The reduplicated stem *jabhāra*, etc., belongs to the periods B and C, and to the finite verb only. There occur besides, *babhre* once iii. 1. 10, and the participle *babhrānā* once, iii. 1. 8. There is no other participial form found.²

§ 348. Certain verbs having medial *a* between single consonants drop that vowel in the perfect³: and the RV. has several such forms which do not occur in classical Sanskrit. Examples: *tatne, tatniṣe* 2, *tatniré* 1 and AV. 1, *paptima, paptúh* 2, *paptivāns* 2, *mamnāthe, mamnāte, vavné* 3, *sapçima* 2, *sapçuḥ, sapçe, sapçiré* 6: 24 exx. in RV., 1 in AV. More than half the examples occur in period A.

§ 349. Reduplication is absent in a few finite forms (besides those from the perfect *vēda*), both in RV. and AV.: amongst which Delbrück and Whitney agree in admitting, though not altogether without question, the following: *arhire, cetatuh* AV., *taksathuh, dhise* 3, *dhire* 3, *nindima, yamátuh, skambhāthuh, skambhuh*.⁴ It will be seen that the phenomenon is in no case of importance, and that many of the alleged examples are capable of a different interpretation.²

§ 350. But the Veda has, besides *vidvāns* three participial forms without reduplication, viz. *dāçvāns, mīdhvāns, sāhvāns*: the occurrences² being far the most common in period A.

§ 351. Strong forms outside the singular number occur in RV. exceptionally twice only: *yuyopimá* vii. 89. 5, *viveçuḥ* iv. 23. 9. These occurrences are in the period B.

§ 352. The participle *sasavāns* is to be read as written in iv. 42. 10: but in vii. 87. 2, ix. 74. 8, x. 29. 2 *sasanvāns* is required by the metre, and the latter reading is preferable in the remaining seven occurrences. The form *dadvāns* occurs four times in period B.

¹ Whitney, § 788.

² See Table, § 353.

³ Whitney, § 794 d.

⁴ Whitney, § 790 b, Delbrück, p. 121: Delbrück adds *dabhuh* 2, and Whitney, *Roots, etc.*, p. 59, *takṣuh*.

§ 353. Table shewing use of Augment, Reduplication, etc.

Refer to §	Augmented historic tense-forms :	A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
337-340	(a) from pres. stems, including secondary conjugation	320	297	759	1056	255	177	742	1174
	(b) from perfect stems	14	7	11	18	9	4	3	16
	(c) from aorist stems	594	262	427	689	143	79	431	653
	All augmented forms	928	566	1197	1763	407	260	1176	1843
Unaugmented forms :									
	(a) pres. stems	221	140	169	309	22	5	15	42
	(b) perfect stems	13	5	7	12	3	--	--	3
	(c) aorist stems	192	110	130	240	12	2	19	33
	All unaugmented forms	426	255	306	561	37	7	34	78
Percentage of unaugmented forms :									
	(a) pres. stems	41	32	19		8	3	2	
	(c) aorist stems	24	29	25		8	3	4	
343	Augment <i>ā</i> : <i>ānaṭ</i>	9	3	10	13	4	2	--	6
	“ other words	5	10	14	24	1	--	1	2
	All forms	14	13	24	37	5	2	1	8
344	Stem <i>dīdī</i> ‘shine’	21	8	17	25	1	--	6	7
	“ <i>dīdhī</i> ‘notice’	5	3	4	7	5	4	7	16
	“ <i>pīpī</i> ‘swell’	18	6	6	12	2	1	--	3
	All forms	44	17	27	44	8	5	13	26
345	Perfects with <i>ā</i> of reduplication-syllable	129	53	86	139	18	4	39	61
	Perfects with <i>i</i> , <i>ū</i> of reduplication-syllable	36	14	14	28	3	--	3	6
	All forms	165	67	100	167	21	4	42	67
346	Reduplication in <i>ān</i>	23	4	17	21	6	--	13	19
347	Perfect <i>jabhāra</i> , etc.	4	3	14	17	6	1	9	16
348	Medial <i>a</i> exceptionally omitted	15	3	4	7	1	1	1	3
349	Finite forms without reduplication	5	3	3	6	1	--	1	2
350	Participles without reduplication : <i>dācṣvāns</i>	97	17	27	44	5	1	7	13
	<i>mīdhvāns</i>	25	6	7	13	1	3	1	5
	<i>sāhvāns</i>	8	1	1	2	--	--	--	0

Infinitives.

§ 354. The system of infinitives, as found in the RV. generally, is in rapid decay. Although this is in part a question of style, yet on account of the great variety of forms it may be most appropriate to treat of it here.

The infinitives of the RV. are derived from a variety of stems, and have generally the form of a dative or locative case : they

are not easily distinguished from the corresponding cases of verbal abstract nouns. Amongst the various forms, that in *-tave* is fairly prominent from the first: but it does not exceed in frequency the other forms until the period of the AV. A variation *-tavai* (cf. above, § 320) reaches its maximum of favour in the period C₁. Throughout the whole Vedic period the classical form *-tum* is rare, though it becomes rather more common in AV.

It is noticeable that the form in *-tum* also occurs in Latin, and is therefore presumably primitive: yet it is entirely absent from the earliest hymns of the RV. This fact must be a warning against drawing conclusions as to date from isolated phenomena, however striking they may at first sight appear.

Brunnhöfer made the attempt (KZ. xxv.) to arrange the various māṇḍalas of the RV. in order of time by reference to the use of infinitive forms. Even if it could be admitted that the separate māṇḍalas are homogeneous, the number of forms available is too small to enable us to draw satisfactory conclusions with regard to comparatively small bodies of matter. See Introduction, §§ 6, 27.

§ 355. If we compare the periods A B only, the changes are much less striking: but the forms in *-taye*, *-dhyai*, and *-vane* appear to be rapidly diminishing. The form in *-dhyai* is hardly found except at the end of Tristubh *pādas*: it is therefore the more remarkable that one-half of its occurrences are in the period A: and it is already rare in B.¹

§ 356. In the enumeration of the forms I follow Delbrück,² with some corrections, and with the addition of examples from AV.

I. Infinitives in *-e* (a) from *-ā* stems, in *-ai*: 9 exx. from 5 stems.³ (b) from consonant stems: Delbrück gives 53 stems, 174 exx.; of which *dr̥cé* x. 9. 7 is only a repetition of i. 23. 21. Add *gr̥bhé* viii. 10. 3; *abhipracákṣe* i. 113. 6, *vicákṣe* iv. 16. 4; *túje* viii. 4. 15; *dr̥cé* i. 50. 5; iv. 11. 1; *vip̐cse* iv. 13. 3; *bhujé* i. 127. 11; *mahé* i. 180. 6; *mudé* i. 145. 4; *prayákṣe* iii. 31. 3; *samyúje* viii. 41. 6; *vṛdhé* iii. 6. 10; *vidé* x. 23. 2; *ṣubhé* v. 52. 8; 57. 3; 63. 5; also for i. 126. 6 read i. 127. 6 and for i. 167. 1 read i. 167. 6. In AV. *tujé*, *dr̥cé* 8, *ādh̐cse* 2, *ābádhe*, *yudhé*, *rucé*, *vṛdhé*, *ṣubhé* 2. All exx. in RV. 190, in AV. 17.¹

II. Forms in *-am*. Delbrück gives 36 forms from 13 stems. Add *pratīram* viii. 48. 10, *ṣubham* i. 23. 11, v. 55. 2, 3; *upaspījam* x. 88. 18, making 41 exx. in RV.; and from AV. *nīkkhīdam*, *vicīṭam* 2, *saṃrūdham*.¹

III. Forms in *-ah*. Delbrück gives 6 exx.¹

IV. Forms in *-i*. Delbrück gives 9 exx.¹

§ 357. V. Forms in *-se*, *-ase*. Delbrück gives 88 exx. from 27 stems. From these should be withdrawn *bhārase*, *sáhyase*: and to them should be added *ṛcāse* vi. 39. 5, *cákṣase* i. 7. 3; 112. 8;

¹ See Table, § 365.

² Cap. XVIII.

³ Whitney (§ 971) questions *avasai* iii. 53. 20 (C₂) and prefers *avasāḥ*.

vii. 66. 14 ; 81. 1 ; x. 9. 1 ; *jīvāse* ix. 66. 30 ; x. 25. 6 ; 58. 2, 3 ; *dohāse* i. 141. 2 ; *bhojāse* Vāl. 3. 3 ; *dhāyase* i. 94. 12 ; 130. 2 ; ii. 5. 7 : giving 101 exx. in RV. AV. has *cākṣase* 5, *jīvāse* 8, so that these two words at least are still common : also *carāse*.²

§ 358. VI. Forms in *-taye*. Delbrück gives 61 from 4 stems : but his list is too limited, and it is more satisfactory to include all those words and uses which are practically confined to the dative singular. The list will then be as follows : *istāye* 20 AV. 1, *vāsya-istāye* 4 ; *pītāye* 61, *pūrvāpītāye* 4, *sōmapītāye* 49 AV. 1 : *vītāye* 31, *devāvītāye* 22 : *sātāye* 34, *dhānasātāye* AV. 1, *medhāsātāye* 5, *vājasātāye* 34 AV. 1 : in all, RV. 264, AV. 4.²

VII. There are two occurrences of *-tyai*, both in B₂ : the ending recurs in AB.¹

VIII. For *-aye* Delbrück gives 17 forms from 5 stems : to which add *yudhāye* x. 27. 2 ; 48. 6 : *sanāye* i. 116. 12, 21 ; 124. 7 ; ii. 31. 3 ; iv. 20. 3 ; vi. 26. 8 ; vii. 79. 5 ; ix. 92. 1 ; 96. 20 ; x. 30. 11 ; making 29 exx. AV. has *drçāye*. The occurrences are almost entirely in the periods B₁, B₂, and C₁.²

IX. Of infinitives in *-dhyai*, Delbrück gives 72 occurrences from 35 stems. Add *yājadhya* iv. 21. 5 ; 24. 5 ; *huvādhya* i. 122. 5. For *sāhadhya* vii. 32. 12, read vii. 31. 12. In all, 75 exx., of which two-thirds are in period A.²

§ 359. The remaining forms of the infinitive are those from the *-tu* stems (discussed in § 360), and the following :

X. *-vane* : *dāvāne* 28 ; also *turvāne* vi. 46. 8 ; viii. 9. 13 ; 12. 19 ; 45. 27 ; x. 93. 10 : *dhārvane* ix. 61. 30.²

XI. *-mane* : 6 forms from 5 stems : four forms are in the periods C₁, C₂.²

XII. *-sani* : 10 forms from 8 stems.²

The form *çignāthe* iii. 31. 13 is quite isolated, if it is, as Delbrück seems to suppose, an infinitive of the reduplicated aorist : and there can be little doubt that the forms *dhartāri*, *vidhartāri* are either masculine or neuter nominatives of the *-tar* noun, and not infinitives.

§ 360. From the stem in *-tu* four forms are in use :

XIII. *-tave* : 33 stems, 114 forms in RV. In Delbrück's list under *yātave* for ix. 62. 18 read the second time ix. 65. 16. In AV. I have noted *āttave* 5, *ētave*, *kārtave*, *gāntave*, *dātave*, *dhātave*, *pāktave*, *pātave*, *bhārtave* 2, *yātave* 2, *vātave*, *vēttave*, *vādhave*, *sāvītave* 3, *sūtave* 4, *śetave*, *stāritave* 2 : in all, 29 exx. The forms are almost equally used in all parts.²

XIV. *-tavai* : 13 stems, 25 forms in RV. In AV. I notice *jīvītavai*, *pāri-dhātavai*, *bhārtavai*, *sūtavai*.² See above, § 354.

XV. *-toḥ* : 9 stems, 12 forms in RV.² Add *jānitoh* iv. 6. 7.

XVI. *-tum* : 4 stems, 5 forms in RV.² In AV. this form is

¹ Whitney, § 975.

² See Table, § 365.

³ The form *ōtum*, vi. 9. 2, 3, may well be a noun, since we find *ōtavaḥ* AV. xiv. 2. 51.

still rare: there occur *kártum* 3, *dátum* 2, *dráṣtum*, *yācitum*, *spárdhitum*.¹

Absolutives.

§ 361. The absolutives are forms hardly known to the earliest section of the Rigveda, but very common later. The form *-tvī* disappears in AV. The forms in *-tvā*, *-ya*, *-tya* are used according to the classical rules: but it is remarkable that the form in *-ya*, used with compounds, is far the most common in B₂, whilst in the AV. *-tvā*, the form of the uncompounded verb, occurs nearly three times as often.¹

§ 362. Of forms in *-tvī* Delbrück² gives 35, from 15 stems. Add *á-yudhvī* x. 108. 5, *viṣtvī* i. 110. 4.

Of forms in *-tvāya* Delbrück gives 8, from 7 stems. Add *gatvāya* viii. 89. 8. AV. has *gatvāya*. The formation belongs to period C.

Of forms in *-tvā* Delbrück gives 20, from 9 stems. Add *yuktvā* i. 177. 1, *snātvā* x. 71. 7. AV. has 146 exx., many of which shew *-tuā*: see above, § 87.

§ 363. From compound verbs Delbrück gives 71 exx. of forms in *-ya*, from 35 stems. Add the following: *abhi-khyāya* i. 155. 5, *prati-cákṣya* ii. 24. 7 (crasis), *ā-dāya* iv. 26. 6 (end of pāda *d*), 7, *punar-dāya* x. 109. 7, *vi-māya* x. 114. 6, *sam-māya* i. 67. 10; *ā-sādyā* vi. 52. 13 (crasis); 68. 11 (do.); *ni-sādyā* iv. 4. 12 (end of pāda *c*), *upasthāya* iii. 48. 3, *atihāya* i. 162. 20 (end of *c*), making 83 exx. in RV. In AV. we find *-ūhya*, *-kṛtya*, *-krāmya* 2, *-gīrya*, *-gṛbhya*, *-gṛhya* 2, *-chādyā*, *-dāya* 3, *-dādya* 2, *-dīṣya*, *-dhāya* 3, *-dhūya*, *-nīya*, *-pādyā* 2, *-pāya*, *-bhājya*, *-bhūya* 2, *-mājya* 2, *-mījya*, *-rābhya*, *-rūhya*, *-lūpya*, *-viṣya* 3, *-vīsyā*, *-vītya* 2, *-sādyā* 3, *-śicya* 5, *-śidhya*, *-śivya*, *-śīpya*, *-sthāya* 2, *-hāya* 4, 55 exx.

Of forms in *-tya* Delbrück gives 13 exx., from 5 stems. Add *abhi-itya* ix. 55. 4 (end of pāda *b*), *aram-kṛtyā* x. 51. 5, *avagātya* vi. 75. 5 (end of pāda *d*). From the AV. we have *-itya* 14, *-ītya*, *-kṛtya*, *-gātya* 5, *-jītya* 3, *-mītya*, *-yātya*, *-vītya*, *-grūtya*, *-hītya*: 29 exx.

Gerundives.

§ 364. Gerundives in *-tua*, *-tva* are most common in the periods B, C₁. There occur *kártua* 14, *kártva* 2, *jántua*, *jétua*, *nántua*, *váktua* 3, *sótua*, *hántua*, *hétua*³: *jánitva* 4 AV. 2, *bhāvitva*, *sánitva*: 31 in RV., 2 in AV.¹

Those in *-enia* (rarely *-enya*⁴) are distinctly early. There occur *īksénia*, *idénia* 10, *uṣénia*, *kirténia* 2, *carénia*, *dr̥génia*, *marm̐jénia* (and once *-ya*), *yamsénia* 2 and AV. 3, *yudhénia*, *varénia*

¹ See Table, § 365.

² Ch. XVIII.

³ *Snātvā* x. 71. 7 is an absolutive.

⁴ See above, § 80.

(including compounds) 40, *vāvrđhēna*: *ābhūśēnya*, *didrksēnya* 2, *paprksēnya*,¹ *varēnya* 1 in AV., *saparyēnya*: 67 in RV., 4 in AV.²

Those in *-eya*, *-eyia*, *-āyia* (*-āyia*) are not common: they belong chiefly to periods A and B₁. Examples: *diđrksēya*: *çapatheyia* 1 in AV., *stuśēyia*: *atasāyia* 2, *ākāyia*, *trayayāyia*, *dakśāyia* 4, *didhiśāyia* 2, *panayāyia*, *panāyia* 2, *mahāyia*, *vitantasāyia* 4, *vidāyia*, *çravāyia* 13, *sprhayāyia* 4, *a-hnavāyia*: *dakśāyia*, *prahāyia* 1 in AV.: 40 in RV., 2 in AV.³

Gerundives in *-ya* (*-ia*) are equally common throughout all Sanskrit: for the treatment of the semi-vowel see above, at §§ 80, 84, 94.

§ 365. Table of infinitives, absolutives, and gerundives.

Refer to §		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
356	Infinitives in <i>-e</i> : (a) from vowel stems (<i>-ai</i>). (b) from consonant stems.	1	2	4	6	--	2	--	2
	Infinitives in <i>-am</i>	83	29	66	95	9	3	17	29
	“ <i>-aḥ</i>	2	1	2	3	1	--	--	1
	“ <i>-i</i>	4	3	2	5	--	--	--	0
	All from radical stems.	108	41	87	128	12	8	21	41
357	Infinitives in <i>-se</i> , <i>-ase</i>	27	9	14	23	--	--	1	1
	besides <i>cākṣase</i>	4	2	2	4	--	--	5	5
	“ <i>jivāse</i>	16	6	11	17	2	8	8	18
	All forms in <i>-se</i> , <i>-ase</i>	47	17	27	44	2	8	14	24
358	Infinitives in <i>-taye</i>	200	20	40	60	3	1	4	8
	“ <i>-tyai</i> (<i>ityai</i>)	0	--	2	2	--	--	--	0
	“ <i>-aye</i>	5	5	15	20	4	--	1	5
	“ <i>-āhyai</i>	49	17	8	25	--	1	--	1
359	Infinitives in <i>-vane</i>	27	3	4	7	--	--	--	0
	“ <i>-mane</i>	1	--	1	1	2	2	--	4
	“ <i>-sani</i>	6	--	4	4	--	--	--	0
360	Infinitives in <i>-tave</i>	54	20	25	45	10	5	29	44
	“ <i>-tavai</i>	6	4	3	7	10	2	4	16
	“ <i>-toḥ</i>	3	3	4	7	2	1	--	3
	“ <i>-tum</i>	0	2	2	4	1	--	8	9
362	Absolutives in <i>-tvī</i>	5	5	13	18	6	8	--	14
	“ <i>-tvāya</i>	1	--	--	0	4	4	1	9
	“ <i>-tvā</i>	8	2	6	8	3	3	146	152
363	Absolutives in <i>-ya</i> , <i>-yā</i>	10	10	39	49	14	10	55	79
	“ <i>-tya</i>	3	3	5	8	2	3	29	34
	All absolutives	27	20	63	83	29	28	281	288
364	Gerundives in <i>-tua</i> , <i>-tva</i>	9	3	10	13	9	--	2	11
	“ <i>-enta</i> , <i>-enya</i>	37	9	18	27	2	1	4	7
	“ <i>-eya</i> , <i>-eyia</i> , etc.	24	7	8	15	--	1	2	3

¹ In § 93 *tué*, not *tvé* should be read in v. 33. 6 (387. 6).

² See Table, § 365.

CHAPTER V. VERB-STEMS. §§ 366-429.

§ 366. In order to obtain a general view of the history of the verb in Sanskrit, it will be convenient to classify its parts in a way somewhat different from that which is adopted in the grammars. To some parts of the verb detailed reference is not necessary: for instance the present imperatives and participles, the perfects, and the gerundives in *-ya* remain throughout unaltered in their chief features. In other parts the amount of material is excessive for our purpose: for instance, the relations between the voices, and the different methods of forming the present stem, can be sufficiently ascertained by considering part only of the evidence available. Nor can we conveniently separate here the passive voice from other *-ya* stems, nor the causatives and futures from the other kinds of secondary conjugation.

§ 367. The following division will now be followed.

I. The Present Indicative.

- (a) according to voices, including the Passive.
- (b) according to classes, not including the causatives or other forms with stem in *āya*.

II. Subjunctive, Optative, and Precative Moods.

III. The Aorists, Pluperfect, and Imperfect.

IV. Secondary conjugation, including (a) Intensives, (b) Desideratives and Futures, (c) Causatives, (d) Denominatives.

These divisions overlap in many particulars, and cross-reference then becomes necessary. The Infinitives and Absolutives have been fully treated in the last chapter; but a general view of their history is given by the table in § 429.

§ 368. In many parts of the verb-system change is at work very slowly, but not less surely. It is therefore of great advantage that we can extend our sketch over the periods of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, and of the Nala and Bhagavadgītā respectively. This is made possible by the collections of forms published by Prof. J. Avery, in vol. x. of this Journal.¹

It appears from these collections that the amount of matter in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa is more than one-third of that contained in the RV., or about equal to that contained in each of our sections A, B, C. The actual figures are therefore convenient for comparison, and will be given under the heading D (Avery's B). The amount of matter in the two classical books taken together is little more than one-third as much: for convenience of comparison the actual figures will therefore be trebled, and placed under the heading E (corresponding to Avery's C).

¹ This valuable collection of forms must, however, only be used as auxiliary to the classification of Whitney, *Roots*, etc.: even the classification in Whitney's Grammar needs frequently to be corrected by his later work.

I. Present System.

§ 369. The present system outweighs in importance all the other parts of the verb put together: and its most important parts, the indicative and the imperative, do not as such undergo any great modifications. If the imperative forms are ten times more common in RV. than in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, and more than twice as common in RV. as in the Nāla and Bhagavadgītā, relatively in each case to the whole amount of matter, the cause seems to lie entirely in the style and subject-matter of the respective books. Such causes probably affect the present indicative less than any other part: and the number of present indicative forms is perhaps on the whole the best guide to the history of the present system.

§ 370. The whole number of occurrences of present indicative forms is given at the head of the table in § 387, calculated for each period as described above in § 368. It appears that the number of forms in C is greater by one-fourth, and in D by one-tenth, than in the other sections. This is in itself of little importance, but allowance must be made accordingly in tracing the relative growth of various parts of the system. The original numbers in E are not in all cases sufficiently large to indicate satisfactorily the average.

§ 371. **The Voices.** The stem *jāya* 'be born,' and in the RV. at least several other unaccented *-ya* verbs, have a passive meaning, but are technically reckoned by Indian grammarians as middle verbs. It seems right to consider them as passives: the words so included in RV. (besides *jāya-*) are *īya-* (in some occurrences), *ksīya-*, *jīya-*, *pācya-*, *mīya-*, and *ṛīya-*.

§ 372. It appears from the table¹ that the middle voice is from the first in decay, and the passive in growth. Thus in A the middle forms are ten times as common as the passive, but in E the relation is only that of 11 : 8. The history is fairly parallel to that of Greek and Latin: in proportion as some middle forms become associated with a passive meaning and become more common, there arises a disinclination to the use of the same forms to express an active or intransitive meaning.

§ 373. The growth of the active voice is not sufficiently regular or important to claim further attention: the decay of the middle voice extends to all forms, and its history for the Vedic period is shewn as regards the greater part of them in the table in § 387. For the passive aorist-forms, which are decaying, see below § 400: for the remaining finite passive forms further details are given in the table in § 388.

§ 374. **The Classes.** The table in § 387 also shews the occurrences of present indicative forms arranged according to classes, but with no distinction of voice except for the passives, which

¹ § 387.

have a distinctive class-sign. The classes are arranged for convenience of comparison, and not in the Indian order.¹ The following points should be noticed:

(a) Root-verbs. The form *bhiṣákti* is not included here, but under denominatives: on the other hand *manmahe*, *huvé* (1. and 3. sing.) and *hnuvé* are included.

(b) Reduplicated verbs. The stems *jighra-*, *tistha-*, *píba-* had passed to the *-a* class before the Vedic period: but there are only a few occurrences of *dáda-* *dádha-* and other verbs as transition forms, which for convenience sake are included in this class.

(c) Nasal classes. These are grouped together, as their general history seems the same. With the *-nu* class are included the forms of 3 pl. mid. in *-nvire*, though these might be considered as shewing a transition stem *-nvi*. There is not strictly speaking any *-u* class: verbs of the type of *tanu-* belong already in the Veda to the *-nu* class: there is an isolated occurrence of the form *taruté* in RV., and otherwise only the isolated stem *kuru*: these may for our purpose be included with the *-nu* class.

(d) Classes in *-cha*, *-ī*, *-i*. Although these formations hardly reach the importance of distinct classes, they are treated separately here: in the case of *-cha* verbs, without regard to the accent. The verb *prchá-* is treated as belonging to the accented *á* class, in accordance with its derivation. As the *-ī* suffix is also used for the intensives, its full discussion is reserved.²

§ 375. The history of the classes is the more difficult to follow because of the extreme frequency with which a few verbs occur. Thus in the case of root-verbs the three stems *ás-*, *í-*, *yá-* alone account for more than one-half of the occurrences in periods D and E. A fairer view of the general history is often obtained by excluding such verbs; their occurrences are accordingly given separately in the tables.

§ 376. The number of stems of each class in use is also of importance as corroboration of conclusions drawn from more detailed statistics. It has seemed sufficient to collect from Whitney's Tables³ the number of stems of each class found, (a) in RV. and AV., (b) in the Brāhmaṇas, and (c) in classical Sanskrit. These numbers are given in the table.

§ 377. We noticed above that the class of root-nouns was in decay, § 288: but a considerable number of single words of this formation are nevertheless firmly established. The same is the case with the root-verbs. The commonest of all (*ás-* *í-* *yá-*) fully hold their ground: but apart from these there is a great falling off in the number of occurrences. Thus such forms are fewer in

¹ Otherwise the arrangement in Whitney's *Roots, Verb-forms*, etc., has been followed.

² See below §§ 416, 417.

³ *Roots, Verb-forms*, etc., pp. 211 seq.

C than in A or B, though the whole number of forms is greater in C by one-fourth. In D and E the falling off is still more marked. Again the number of stems used is less in this class in the Brāhmaṇas by one-third, though the whole number of stems is about the same.¹ If those stems alone are considered which are peculiar to the 'earlier language', the falling off is rapid throughout the Vedic period.²

§ 378. An immediate result of the decay of the root-verbs seems to appear in the increase of forms of the reduplicated class, which is shewn in periods B and C. However, there is a very rapid falling off in this class too in D, to which the stem *dadhā-* is alone an exception: and in E the class has almost disappeared.¹

§ 379. The fall of the nasal classes took place still later. The stem *kr̥nu-* is most common in C, and is replaced by *kuru-* in D. Apart from this verb, the class seems to retain its position unaltered till the classical times, but then to decay.¹

§ 380. The classes in *-a*, *-á*, *-ya*, *-cha* form, together with the passives, causatives, and denominatives, a group of dominant importance in Sanskrit. To each of these stems the modal and personal endings can be added with the same simplicity and regularity. They supplant accordingly the more varied and picturesque formations already described, just as the Greek verbs in *-ω* replace those in *-μι*, and the Latin regular verbs the irregular. The process was far advanced even in the earliest part of the RV.

§ 381. The unaccented *-a* class is the most important, at any rate in the number of stems, even in RV.: its progress in the later periods appears to be in this particular only, except for the great frequency of the verbs *bháva-*, *yája-*, *gámsa-* in the Brāhmaṇas.

§ 382. On the other hand, the *-cha* and *-ī* formations, though restricted throughout to a very small number of verbs, shew an increasing number of occurrences: whilst the *-i* forms disappear.

§ 383. The history of the *-á* class, so far as we can judge from the rather limited number of forms, seems to correspond to that of the reduplicating class: there is an increase up to period C, and then a falling off, particularly in the number of stems.¹

§ 384. The *-ya* class shews the most remarkable progress of all. In particular the passives increase rapidly in the Brāhmaṇas, and still more in later times. The only passive in *-ya* unaccented that remains in use is *jāya-*, but its use increases. The active and middle forms also shew a considerable increase in the number of occurrences, though there is not quite the same regularity.¹

§ 385. In the general table the number of occurrences in the sub-periods B₁ B₂ C₁ C₂ AV, is not given, in order that the gen-

¹ See Table, § 387.

² See Table, § 389.

eral history may be more readily seen. Nor does it seem necessary to go further into detail with regard to those classes in which growth or decay is not continuous from the Vedic to the classical periods. But with regard to the root-verbs which are found in the 'earlier language' only, and the *-cha*, *-ya*, and *-yá* classes, full particulars are given in a subsequent table :¹ and as there are no single verbs of great frequency in these classes, the lists there include all occurrences. As might be expected, the decaying forms diminish in number more rapidly in the middle voice, whilst the growing forms increase more slowly there.²

§ 386. Many verbs have in RV. more than one present stem, but later one only : the respective stems may be named early and late, in the sense that the former disappear before the classical period. In the list given below³ the most important of these groups of forms are enumerated. Amongst 'early' stems none is included which is used in classical Sanskrit, except *bhára-* as a simple verb (which rarely, if ever, occurs in classical Sanskrit) and *vára-* which is once so found : but the occasional occurrences of some of these stems in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras is noted. Of the 'late' stems all occur in classical Sanskrit except *kr̥nu-* (which gives way to *kuru-*) and *sáca-* : in these cases the number of instances available is sufficient to shew relatively late date, seeing that the correlatives occur in the Rígveda only.

The figures enclosed in brackets denote the verb-class; the letters following the respective stems the literature in which they are found, as in Whitney's *Roots, Verb-forms*, etc.: and they are based upon Whitney's statement.⁴

¹ § 389. These lists include all the moods, the imperfect forms, and the participles.

² The *-cha* forms are an exception to the latter part of this statement.

³ See Table, § 390.

⁴ I have, however, assigned *ṛnvá-* to the *-á* class, and have once or twice omitted Whitney's mark of interrogation.

§ 387. Table of the present indicative forms.

Refer to §		Number of occurrences.				
		A	B	C	D	E trebled
370	All forms	2680	2716	3462	2908	2724
371	Active forms	1495	1640	2554	2141	1749
to	Middle “	1083	962	726	507	564
373	Passive “	102	114	182	260	411
	Class forms.	Number of stems.				
		RV.	Br.	Clsc.		
377	I. Root class: <i>ās-</i> ‘be’ ..	1	1	1	282	208
	<i>i-</i> ‘go’ ..	1	1	1	87	147
	<i>yā-</i> ‘go’ ..	1	--	1	65	74
	<i>huvé</i> ‘call’ 1. 3. sing. ..	1	1	--	44	17
	<i>īmahe</i> ..	1	1	--	57	29
	Rest	103	66	60	394	377
	All forms	108	70	63	929	852
378	II. Reduplicated class: <i>dādāhā-</i> ‘put’ ..	1	1	1	60	60
	Rest	45	27	15	115	148
	All forms	46	28	16	175	208
379	III. Nasal classes:					
	<i>kṛnu-</i> ‘make’ ..	1	--	--	37	53
	<i>kuru-</i> ‘make’ ..	1	1	1	--	--
	Stems with <i>-na-</i> , <i>-n-</i> ..	26	23	13	61	64
	“ <i>-nu</i> , (<i>-u</i>) ..	36	42	29	111	105
	“ <i>-nā</i> , <i>-nī</i> ..	35	33	21	118	122
	All forms	99	99	64	327	344
381	IV. Unaccented <i>-a</i> class:					
	<i>bhāva-</i> ..	1	1	1	14	41
	<i>yāja-</i> ..	1	1	1	12	20
	<i>çāṁsa-</i> ..	1	1	1	6	5
	Rest	291	276	323	870	849
	All forms	294	279	326	902	915
382	V. <i>-cha</i> class	5	7	7	36	39
	<i>-ī</i> “ ..	7	3	3	5	5
	<i>-i</i> “ ..	7	1	1	12	10
383	VI. Accented <i>-ā</i> class	100	89	64	78	88
384	VII. <i>-ya</i> class, active and middle	69	89	81	114	141
	<i>-ya</i> class, passive ..	7	1	1	17	32
	<i>-yā</i> “ “ ..	85	124	206	85	82
	All forms in <i>-ya</i> , <i>-yā</i> ..	161	214	288	216	255

§ 388. Table of the middle and passive voices.

Refer to §		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
	MIDDLE FORMS :								
372	present indicative	1083	386	576	962	157	100	469	726
393	“ subj. (all forms) ..	97	26	50	76	18	5	23	46
394	“ optative	52	6	18	24	2	2	7	11
409	imperfect indicative	139	86	165	251	40	41	158	239
	perfect “	292	151	230	381	52	23	134	209
	aorists	531	169	197	366	42	30	106	178
	All mid. forms included above	2194	824	1236	2060	311	201	897	1409
	PASSIVE FORMS :								
372	-yá stems: present indicative	85	32	50	82	16	16	119	151
393	“ “ subjunctive	1	--	2	2	--	--	--	0
409	“ imperf. indicative	1	1	5	6	1	1	56	58
	“ imperative	2	2	1	3	2	4	49	55
	“ participles	23	34	21	55	9	1	41	51
	-yá stems : all forms	112	69	79	148	28	22	265	315
371	-ya stems : all forms	41	35	53	88	16	17	76	109
	All forms	153	104	132	236	44	39	341	424

§ 389. Table of class-forms shewing continuous change.

Refer to §		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
	DECAYING FORMS :								
377	Root-class : active	118	35	83	118	18	7	21	46
	“ middle	112	31	44	75	12	7	10	29
	All forms	230	66	127	193	30	14	31	75
	GROWING FORMS :								
382	-cha class : active	116	36	111	147	37	37	207	281
	“ middle	7	2	10	12	7	4	11	22
	All forms	123	38	121	159	44	41	218	303
384	-ya class : active	144	51	134	185	58	56	254	368
	“ middle	74	43	83	126	19	22	138	179
	“ passive	41	35	53	88	16	17	76	109
	All forms	259	129	270	399	93	95	468	656

§ 390. PRESENT STEMS : DOUBLETS.

Refer to §	ROOTS.	EARLY STEMS.			A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C	LATE STEMS.			A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
386	From <i>r</i> 'go'	[3] <i>iyar</i> V. B.	16	11	14	25	2	1	4	6	[6] <i>rchá</i> V. + ...	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		[5] <i>ruá</i> V.	14	2	2	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
		[6] <i>ruvá</i> RV.	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	<i>i</i> 'go'	[2] <i>áimáhe</i> V. B.	57	7	22	29	1	1	3	5	[2] <i>i</i> V. + ...	201	102	191	293	109	69	466	644				
	<i>kér</i> 'make'	[2] <i>kér</i> RV.	3	2	2	4	2	1	1	1	[5] <i>kérá</i> V. B. S.	125	83	130	213	51	23	185	259				
		[1] <i>kára</i> RV.	11	4	3	7	2	1	3	8	[8] <i>kurú</i> RV ² AV. + ...	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>grabh</i> 'seize'	[9] <i>grbhá</i> V. B.	9	3	5	8	6	4	4	14	[9] <i>grbhá</i> V. + ...	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>1 cē</i> 'gather'	[1] <i>cāya</i> RV.	5	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	[5] <i>cāya</i> V. + ...	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>jī</i> 'conquer'	[2] <i>jī</i> RV.	5	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	[1] <i>jāya</i> V. + ...	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>pū</i> 'cleanse'	[1] <i>pāva</i> V. B. S. ¹	229	78	22	100	2	11	28	41	[9] <i>pūná</i> V. + ...	21	15	23	38	8	23	47	78				
	<i>1 pī</i> 'fill'	[6] <i>pīná</i> V. B.	18	6	13	19	6	1	2	8	[1] <i>pīná</i> V. C.	89	32	9	41	3	2	17	22				
	<i>bhī</i> 'fear'	[1] <i>bhāya</i> V.	5	5	7	12	3	1	2	8	[3] <i>pīpar</i> V. C.	4	1	1	2	2	13	13	13				
	<i>bhī</i> 'bear'	[1] <i>bhāra</i> (simple verb) V. + ...	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	[3] <i>bibhā</i> V. + ...	2	1	1	1	2	17	19					
	<i>man</i> 'think'	[8] <i>manu</i> V. + ...	32	20	28	48	5	2	11	18	[3] <i>bibhar</i> V. B., <i>bibhār</i> RV. + ...	31	14	41	55	17	5	72	94				
	<i>muc</i> 'release'	[6] <i>mucá</i> RV. TA.	11	2	6	8	1	1	11	13	[4] <i>mānga</i> V. + ...	20	14	17	31	5	5	38	48				
	<i>2 vid</i> 'find'	[2] <i>vid</i> V. B.	24	5	5	10	1	1	2	6	[6] <i>māncā</i> V. + ...	3	5	20	25	3	8	104	115				
	<i>1 vr</i> 'cover'	[5] <i>vrāu</i> V. + ...	9	4	7	11	1	1	2	3	[6] <i>vindā</i> V. + ...	15	14	18	32	12	9	20	41				
		[1] <i>vāra</i> RV. C ¹	10	4	7	11	1	1	1	1	[5] <i>vrāu</i> V. + ...	10	6	13	18	2	1	8	11				
	<i>vr̥t</i> 'turn'	[3] <i>vav̥t</i> V. B.	23	4	9	13	5	1	2	8	[1] <i>vārta</i> V. + ...	7	2	8	10	8	9	21	38				
	<i>vr̥ṣ</i> 'rain'	[6] <i>vr̥ṣa</i> RV. S.	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	[1] <i>vārṣa</i> V. + ...	0	1	1	1	1	1	11	11				
	<i>sac</i> 'accompany'	[3] <i>sācāc</i> , <i>sācāc</i> RV.	20	10	10	20	1	1	1	1	[2] <i>sāca</i> V. B.	34	24	37	61	6	6	33	45				
		[1] <i>sācca</i> RV.	2	6	2	8	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0				
	<i>han</i> 'smite'	[1] <i>jāghna</i> RV. B.	11	3	7	10	1	1	1	1	[2] <i>hān</i> V. + ...	75	34	44	78	12	15	104	131				
	<i>hā, hvā</i> 'call'	[2] <i>hā</i> RV. K. KGS.	8	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	[4] <i>hvāya</i> V. + ...	9	6	22	28	3	2	36	41				
		? " <i>huvé</i> (13s) V.B.	44	9	8	17	2	2	19	23													
		[6] <i>huvā</i> V. B.	26	11	14	25	5	5	1	6													
		[1] <i>huvā</i> V. B.	103	13	39	52	2	5	14	21													

¹ The stem *pāva*- is not included amongst the notes of early date in the Introduction, because its great frequency in A is partly due to the subject-matter.

II. Subjunctive, Optative, and Precative Moods.

§ 391. The first person singular of the subjunctive continues in use throughout all periods of the language. For the endings see above § 320.

§ 392. In the remaining persons there is a variety of endings, for which see above §§ 321–323: and we have besides two forms of the stem, one with a mode sign *a*, the other the same as the present stem, but used with secondary endings.¹ The forms of the latter group are identical with those of the unaugmented imperfect: and the group as a whole has been named the ‘pseudo-subjunctive’ or ‘improper subjunctive,’ on the assumption that the forms are borrowed from the imperfect indicative. That this is the case is not shewn by the Rig-Veda, in which this group of forms is decadent: but it cannot be doubted that the great variety of forms was one cause at least of the decadence of the whole mood, which is arrested only in the idiomatic use of *mā* with the ‘improper subjunctive.’²

§ 393. The forms of the present subjunctive rapidly disappear after the time of the AV.: the other tenses are in decay from the first, as is the “improper subjunctive” in all tenses. The use of the latter in prohibitions with *mā* is most common in period C, and with the aorist-forms: and traces of this use remain in the later periods.³

Optative Mood.

§ 394. This mood becomes extremely common in the Brāhmaṇas, in which it replaces the lost subjunctive mood. It is somewhat less common in period B than in A, as is also the subjunctive: of this the subject-matter gives sufficient explanation.⁴

Precative Mood.

§ 395. The 3rd person sing. of the root aorist optative from the mood-stem *-yā* ends in the RV. regularly in *-yāh*: these forms are specially given in the table, as well as included in the general enumeration. It will be seen that there is no form of the kind in AV., where we find once *bhūyāt*. This irregular but old form, by the side of the similar middle forms *-iṣṭhāh*, *-iṣṭa* (which are not included in the general enumeration, as there exist by their side the forms *-iṣṭah*, *-iṣṭa*) would seem to have been the beginning of the formation of a new ‘precative mood,’ which however never attained importance. Forms of the first person in *-āsam*, *-āśma* occur twice in RV. (*bhūyāsam*, *kriyāśma*) and many times in AV.: *jīvyāsam* 7, *badhyāsam*, *bhūyāsam* 15, *bhrājyāsam*, *grāyāsam*: *ṛdhyāśma*, *bhūyāśma* 2, *rādhyāśma*. It will be noticed that several of these forms are from present stems. Besides these AV. has once *bhūyāśtha*, and the Nala once *brūyāśta*.⁵

¹ There are also a few occurrences of the “improper subjunctive” in the first person, included in the table.

² See Table, § 396.

§ 396. Table of Subjunctive, Optative, and Precative forms.

Refer to §		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C	D	E
	I. Subjunctive mood (2d and 3d persons) with a sign :										
393	present ¹ active	221	73	141	214	60	33	240	333	17	0
	“ middle	41	10	22	32	13	3	15	31	3	0
	“ passive	1	--	2	2	--	--	--	0	0	0
410, 411	perfect	64	20	39	59	7	1	5	13	0	0
401	aorist	157	47	65	112	23	8	74	105	1	0
	All forms	484	150	269	419	108	45	334	482	21	0
	II. “Improper subjunctive” :										
393	present ¹ active	107	21	35	56	13	5	29	47	0	0
	“ middle	49	15	22	37	3	1	2	6	0	0
410, 411	perfect	1	1	--	1	1	--	--	1	0	0
401	aorist	184	67	92	159	21	10	37	68	0	0
	All forms	341	104	149	253	38	16	68	122	0 ²	0
	III. “Improper subjunctive” with mā :										
393	present ¹ active	29	9	6	15	4	3	41	48	7	0
	“ middle	7	1	6	7	2	1	6	9	2	0
410, 411	perfect	2	--	3	3	--	--	1	1	0	0
401	aorist	89	25	67	92	27	37	228	292	49	7
	All forms	127	35	82	117	33	41	276	350	58	7
	IV. Optative mood :										
394	present ¹ active	192	71	81	152	35	17	176	228	689	309
	“ middle	52	6	18	24	2	2	7	11	139	21
	“ passive (<i>jāyemahi</i>)	1	--	2	2	--	--	--	0	0	0
410, 411	perfect	23	12	17	29	10	1	6	17	0	0
401	aorist	111	35	57	92	17	10	41	68	0	0
	All forms	379	124	175	299	64	30	230	324	828	330
	V. Precative mood :										
395	[3. sing. act. in - <i>yāh</i>]	14	7	8	15	2	1	--	0	0	0
	middle forms - <i>iṣṭhāh</i> , - <i>iṣṭa</i> ..	12	--	3	3	1	3	2	6	0	0
	forms - <i>āsam</i> , - <i>āsmā</i>	1	--	--	0	--	1	29	30	0	0

III. The Aorists and Pluperfect.

§ 397. That the aorist forms almost completely disappear in the Brāhmaṇas and in classical Sanskrit is well known. As but few forms are found there except those of the “improper subjunctive” with *mā*, which have been discussed above (§ 393), it is unnecessary to give statistics except for the Vedic period.³

¹ Under ‘present’ are included forms belonging to the secondary conjugations.

² No figures are available for AB. ; but Whitney states (Gr. §§ 563, 587) that the usage is rare.

³ Avery, JAOS. x.; see especially his table on p. 319.

§ 398. The process of decay itself takes place chiefly within the Vedic period, and forms the most striking example we have of change in language on a large scale. The main cause is no doubt the great multiplicity of aorist forms, and the general tendency of the language towards simplification. These causes do not affect all parts of the system equally or at the same time : and there are also other causes at work, common to the aorist and other parts of the verb-system, which sometimes hasten, sometimes check decay.

§ 399. In order to present a general view of the history of the aorist, we may combine the figures for the *-a* and *-sa* aorists, and the *-iṣ* and *-siṣ* aorists respectively, and consider first the general history of these tenses, as shewn by the whole number of forms, and (in more detail) in the indicative, subjunctive, optative, and imperative moods of the active voice. Outside the aorist system the past tenses of the indicative are much more common in B than in A, the imperative forms in A than in B : but otherwise there is no great change in the Vedic period in these parts, and any change found now will be characteristic of the respective aorists or of the aorist system as a whole.

§ 400. It appears from the table (§ 408) that the whole number of aorist forms in A is about 2000, in B 1800, in C 1450 : but the falling off is almost entirely in the middle and passive voices. As we might expect, the middle aorists decay much more rapidly than the middle presents. But whilst the middle forms of the reduplicated aorist have disappeared before the Vedic period, those of the *-a*, *-sa*, and *-iṣ* aorists shew no marked change in the number of forms. But see the next section.

§ 401. In the active voice we first notice the disappearance of the participle : followed by a general falling off in the use of the subjunctive, optative, and imperative moods. These changes characterize the whole aorist system, though they are most marked in the *-s* and reduplicated aorists. On the other hand, the aorists indicative shew a considerable increase in period B (see below § 404) and fairly maintain their ground even in C. The use of the "improper subjunctive" with *mā* is three times as frequent in C as in B, and has even by the time of the AV. revived middle forms that were dying or dead, with the single exception of those of the reduplicated aorist. It is specially common with the *-a*, *-sa*, *-iṣ*, and *-siṣ* aorists, with which its frequency entirely compensates the otherwise general disappearance of the middle forms.¹

§ 402. Almost half the aorist forms belong to the root-aorist : but this loses ground more rapidly than most of the other aorists : cf. the root-presents, above § 377. Its most marked features are the great frequency of the imperative in A, the absence of active participles, and of unaugmented middle forms of the indicative.'

¹ See Table, § 408.

§ 403. The *-s* aorist is marked by the comparative rarity of active indicative forms: in A its most common forms are the thematic subjunctive and the augmented middle indicative. Like the root-aorist it has few active participles or unaugmented middle indicative forms. General analogies favour ranking the "double-stems" in *-ase* and *-asāna* as 1. sing. subj. middle and participle of the *s* aorist respectively, and they are so reckoned in the table: they account almost entirely for the occurrences under these headings. The *s* aorist as a whole loses ground as quickly as the root-aorist.¹

§ 404. The aorists in *-a* *-sa* are variations of the root-aorist and *s* aorist respectively. They correspond to the *a* verb-classes, and are tenacious of life in comparison with the other aorists. Indeed the number of occurrences in C is about equal to that in A: but about three-fourths in C are instances of the augmented indicative active or of *mā* with "improper subjunctive," whilst in A there is far more variety. The *-sa* aorists are only few.¹

§ 405. The *-is*, *-siṣ* aorists have a history much resembling that of those in *-a*, *-sa*: and they are actually more common later. They have no optative forms, but thematic subjunctives are comparatively numerous. The *-siṣ* aorists are only occasionally used.¹

§ 406. We find the reduplicated aorist in the earliest period lacking almost completely not only all the middle forms, but also the subjunctive, optative, imperative, and participial forms of the active. Yet this defective or mutilated tense suffers no further loss in the Vedic period, but rather gains ground.¹

§ 407. From this survey alone the approaching disappearance of the whole system could hardly be foretold. But its two most important branches, the root and *s* aorist, appear as decaying, and the general loss of flexional variety and elasticity within the separate aorist groups was poorly compensated by the temporary expansion of the less important of them, and the temporary favour of a special idiom. But the loss of the augmented indicative forms, which takes place in the period of the Brāhmaṇas, seriously diminished the flexibility and expressiveness of the verb-system.

§ 407a. The forms of the aorist imperative active are not included in the groups tabulated in the Introduction, as their great frequency in A is to some extent due to the character of the hymns.

¹ See Table, § 408.

§ 408. TABLE OF THE ACRIST FORMS, CONTINUED.

[illegible]

§ 409. **Imperfect Tense.** The aorist is in the indicative mood parallel to the imperfect and pluperfect tenses: the latter has a history similar to that of the aorists, and indeed can often not be distinguished from them. It is also parallel with the perfect, so far as that tense is used in a historic sense: but this distinction has not yet been investigated.

In later Sanskrit the pluperfects and aorists disappear: and it is shewn by the table¹ that the process was at work during the whole Vedic period. For although the absolute number of aorist indicative and pluperfect forms is greater in B than in A, yet, relatively to both, the imperfect has gained much ground, having in A only 40 per cent. of the occurrences, but in B₁ 54 and in B₂ 63 per cent.; after which period the proportion does not greatly change till the time of the Brāhmaṇas.

§ 410. **Subsidiary Perfect Tenses.** It is not easy to distinguish the subsidiary tenses of the perfect from other tense-forms which shew a reduplicated stem: and as the standpoint adopted by Whitney in his *Roots, Verb-forms*, etc., differs very considerably from the statements in his *Grammar*, and includes a much larger number of forms within the perfect group, it will be convenient to collect the forms recognized in his later work as a starting-point.

The list of words that follows is extracted from it, and the following signs are used to denote the tenses: **P** pluperfect, **U** unaugmented indicative, **I** improper subjunctive, **S** subjunctive, **O** optative, **R** imperative: the corresponding lower-case letters denote the middle voice. Forms in which a thematic *a* (other than *a* of the subjunctive) or *i* occurs are marked "with *a*" and "with *i*" respectively.

añj 'anoint': **O** *anajyāt*.

aç 'attain': **s** *añçāmahai* **O** *añçayām*.

iṣ 'move': **P** *aiyeh*.

kan, kâ 'enjoy': **U** *cākān* (2s.) 5, (3s.) 4, **S** *cākānaḥ* 3, -at 3, -āma, -anta
with *a*: **O** *cākanyāt*, **R** *cākandhi* 2.

kr 'make': **p** *ācakṛīran* **U** *cakaram* **O** *cakriyāḥ*.
with *a*: **P** *acakrat*.

kṛp 'lament': with *a* **u** *cakṛpānta*.

kṛp 'be adapted': **S** *cāklpat* (AV. 1).

kṛand 'cry out': **S** *cakṛadāḥ*
with *a*: **U** *cakṛadāḥ*, -at 4.

kram 'stride': **s** *cākramanta*.
with *a*: **u** *cakramanta*.

kṣam 'endure': **o** *caḥṣamithāḥ*.

gam 'go': **P** *ājagan* (2s) 3, 3s 6, *ājaganta*, *ājagantana*: **p** *ajagmīran*
with *a*: **O** *jagamyām*, -āt 7 (and AV. 3), -ātam, -uḥ 2.

gā 'go': **O** *jagāyāt*.

gur 'greet': **S** *jugurat* **O** *juguryāḥ*, -āt.²

grabh 'seize': **P** *ajagrabham* (AV. 3) **O** *jagr̥bhyāt* 2.
with *i*: **P** *ajagr̥bhūt*.

gras 'devour': **o** *jagrasita*.

ghas 'eat': **O** *jakṣiyāt*.

¹ § 413.

² Whitney, Gr. 818, gives also the form *jugūrthāḥ*, which I do not find.

- caḷṣ* 'see': **P** *acacakaṣam*.
cit 'perceive': **P** *cīket* **I** *ciketam **S** *cikitaḥ*, *ciketasi*, -at 7, -ati 8, -athaḥ,
R *cikiddhi* 9.
with *a*: **P** *acikītat*.
chad 'seem': **O** *cachadyāt*.
jan 'give birth': **S** *ajānāt* **Br**.
juṣ 'enjoy': **S** *jūjoṣaḥ* 4, -asi, -at 7, -ati 2, -athaḥ, -atha, -an, *jujuṣan* :
s *jūjoṣate*¹ **R** *jūjūṣāna* 2.
with *a*: **R** *jūjoṣatam*.
jū 'be swift': **S** *jūjwat*.
tan 'stretch': **S** *tātānaḥ* 2, -at, -āma 2, -an 4: **s** *tātānanta*: **O** *tatanyuḥ*.
tap 'heat': **s** *tatāpate*.
tu 'be strong': **U** *tūtoḥ*, *tūtōt* 2.
tuj 'urge': **O** *tutuyāt*.
tṛ 'pass': **O** *tuturyāt* 4, -āma.
twiṣ 'stir': with *a*: **p** *ātītviśanta*.
dabh 'harm': **s** *dadabhanāta*.
dāḷ 'make offering': **S** *dādācaḥ*, -at 5, -ati 2.
dādi 'shine': **S** *dādāyaḥ*, -asi, -at 8 **AV.** 1, -ati: also **Br**.
dṛḥ 'make firm': with *a*, **p** *ādadṛhanta*.
dhan 'run': **O** *dadhanyuḥ*.
with *a*: **U** *dadhānat*.
dhā 'put': **R** *dadhīsvā* 7 and **AV.** 1, *dadhidhvam* 3, *dadhidhvē* 4.
dḥu 'shake': **I** *dūdhot* 2: **o** *dudhuvīta*.
dṛṣ 'dare': **S** *dadhārṣat*, -ati 5 **s** *dādṛṣate* (**AV.** 1), -anta (**AV.** 1).
with *i*: **I** (with *mā*) *dadhārṣit* 2.
nam 'bend': **S** *nanāmaḥ*.
with *a*: **U** *nanāmaḥ*.
pat 'fly': **O** *papatyāt* **AV.** 1.
pā 'drink': **O** *papiyāt* 2.
puṣ 'thrive': **O** *pupuṣyāḥ*.
pū 'cleanses': **P** *āpupot* (also **MS.**).
pr 'fill': **O** *pupūryāḥ*.
pre 'mix': **O** *papṛcyām* (and **AV.** 1), -āt.
with *a*: **S** *papṛcāsi*.
pri 'please': **S** *piprāyaḥ*, -at 2, **R** *piprihi* 2.
with *a*: **r** *pīprāyasva*.
budh 'know': **S** *būbodhaḥ*, -ati.
bhuḡ 'bend': with *i*: **P** *ābubhojīḥ*.
bhū 'be': **O** *babhūyāḥ*, -āt 2 **R** *babhūtu*.
bhr 'bear': **P** *ājabhartana* **S** *jabhārat* 2.
mañh 'be liberal': **S** *māmāhaḥ*: **s** *māmahanta*.
with *a*: **r** *māmahasva*, -antām 2.
mad 'be exhilarated': **P** *amamandukḥ* **S** *mamandat*.
muc 'release': **P** *amumuktam* 3: **S** *mumucaḥ*, *mumocat*, -ati 2: **R**
mumugdhi 5 (and **AV.** 1), *mumoktu* 2 (and **AV.** 2), *mumuktam*
2 (and **AV.** 3).
with *a*: **R** *mumōcatam*, -ta.
mṛ 'crush': **S** *mumurat* ?
mṛj 'wipe': **o** *māmṛjīta*.
mṛḍ 'be gracious': **O** *mamṛḍyuh*.
yuj 'join': **s** *yuyōjate* 2.
ran 'take pleasure': **P** *arāranuḥ* (also **Br.**): **I** *rārān*: **S** *rārāṇaḥ*, -at 2 :
R *rārāndhi* 3, *rārāntu*.
ric 'leave': **O** *riricyām*, -āt.
with *i*: **P** *arirecīt* 3.
ruc 'shine': **s** *rurucanta* **O** *rurucyāḥ*.
van 'win': **S** *vāvānaḥ* **R** *vāvandhi*.
vāḷ 'bellow': with *a*: **p** *āvāvaṣanta* 3: **u** *vāvaṣanta* 2.
with *i*: **p** *āvāvaṣitām*.*

¹ Perhaps a participle.

2 *vid* 'find': S *vividat*.
viç 'enter': O *viviçyāh*.
 with *i*, P *āviveçih*.
viç 'be active': with *i*, P *āviveçih* 3.
vrj 'twist': O *vavrjyūh*, R *vavrktam*.
vrđh 'grow': S *vāvrdhāte*, O *vāvrdhithāh*.
 with *a*: u *vāvrdhānta* 3, i *vāvrdhānta*, S *vāvrdhāti*, r *vāvrdhāsva*
 4 (and part. *vāvrdhāt* and *vāvrdhēte* AV.).
vrş 'rain': with *a*, r *vāvŗsasva*.
çam 'labour': S *çaçāmate*.
çās 'order': I *çaçāh*, R *çaçādhi* 2.
çuc 'gleam': O *çuçucīta* 2, R *çuçugdhi*.
çū 'swell': S *çuçūvat* 3, -*āvāma*: O *çuçuyāma*.
çru 'hear': p *āçuçravi*: S *çuçravat*: O *çuçrūyāh*, -*ātam* 2.
sad 'sit': O *sasadyāt* AV. 1.
sah 'prevail': S *sāsāhah*, -*at* 3: O *sāsahyāt* 2, -*āma* 4: prec. *sāsahīṣṭhāh*.
sā, *si* 'bind': I (with *mā*) *siṣet* ?
sūd 'put in order': S *sūsūdah*, -*at*, -*ati* 3, -*atha*; S *sūsūdāta* AV. 1.
srj 'send forth': p *āsasgram* 2: O *sasrjyāt*.
stabh 'prop': with *a*: U *tastāmbhat*.
sprđh 'contend': with -*a*: *āpasprđhethām*.
sprç 'touch': S *paspārçat*.
svap 'sleep': u *susupthāh* B. S.
svar 'sound': U *sasvār*.
han 'smite': S *jaghānat*.
hāns 'injure': with *i*, I (with *mā*), *jīhiñsih* AV. 1.

Other forms, assigned to the perfect group in the Grammar, are now assigned otherwise: e. g. *āpiprata*, *vivyacanta* to present stems, as also *vavŗtsva*, etc.: *āsavajat*, *rīriṣiṣta* to the reduplicated aorist. Forms that should perhaps have been added are from *pat* 'fly,' *apaptat*, *paptat*, etc. (RV. and AV.), and *ānaṭ* from *aç* 'attain.'

It is clear that a stem *vāvrdha-* was formed in RV., and the occurrences that may be attributed to it most easily are accordingly omitted in the tabulation. Similarly the forms *mumōcatam*, *mumōcata* suggested a transition stem *mumoca-*, and are omitted: as are also the forms attributed to the perfect of *dhā*, which have been already discussed, § 334. The forms attributed to the perfects of *didī*, *manh*, and *vāç*, although doubtful, are included.

§ 411. The table of subsidiary perfect forms shews that the subjunctive, optative, and imperative moods are fairly established in the active voice: but the subjunctive becomes much less common in period C. In the middle all these moods are rare, and occurrences are hardly found after period B.

The group of forms consisting of the pluperfect tense and its allied "improper subjunctive" is remarkably small, especially if we compare it with the corresponding aorist group. It also includes no less than three formations, and is equally divided between them, namely, those of which the forms *aciket*, *acikitat*, and *arirecīt* are typical. It seems still doubtful whether we have here the last remains of a decadent tense, or merely a collection of chance forms: and it is in favour of the latter hypothesis that the number of forms in C is not much less than in the earlier periods respectively.

§ 412. Past tenses of the indicative.

Refer to §		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
409	Imperfect : augmented active forms	267	256	644	900	225	136	533	894
	Imperf. : augmented middle and passive forms	53	41	115	156	30	41	209	280
	Imperf. : unaugmented active forms	134	94	114	208	11	4	10	25
	Imperf. : unaugmented middle and passive forms	87	46	55	101	11	1	5	17
	Total	541	487	928	1365	277	182	757	1216
410, 411	Pluperfect: augmented forms	14	7	11	18	9	4	3	16
	“ unaugmented “	13	5	7	12	3	--	--	3
	Total	27	12	18	30	12	4	3	19
401	Aorists: augmented forms ..	594	262	427	689	143	79	431	653
	“ unaugmented “ ..	192	110	130	240	12	2	19	33
	Total	786	372	557	929	155	81	450	686
	Percentage of imperf. forms.	40	54	63		64	69	63	

§ 413. Subsidiary perfect forms.

Refer to §		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
410, 411	Active voice: augmented plqpf.	10	3	9	12	7	4	3	14
	Active voice: unaugmented plqpf.	11	5	5	10	3	--	--	3
	Active voice: improper subjunctive	1	1	--	1	1	--	--	1
	Active voice: improper subjunctive, with <i>mā</i>	1	--	1	1	--	--	1	1
	Active voice: subjunctive ..	56	19	35	54	7	1	3	11
	“ optative	18	11	15	26	10	1	6	17
	“ imperative	14	4	10	14	5	2	7	14
	All active forms	111	43	75	118	33	8	20	61
	Middle voice: augmented plqpf.	4	4	2	6	2	--	--	2
	Mid. voice: unaugmented “ ..	2	--	2	2	--	--	--	0
	“ improper subj.	0	--	--	0	--	--	--	0
	“ “ with <i>mā</i>	1	--	2	2	--	--	--	0
	Middle voice: subjunctive ..	8	1	4	5	--	--	2	2
	“ optative	5	1	2	3	--	--	--	0
	“ imperative	2	1	2	3	--	--	--	0
	All middle forms	22	7	14	21	2	--	2	4
	All forms	133	50	89	139	35	8	22	65
	All forms of subjunctive, optative, and imperative moods	103	37	68	105	22	4	18	44

IV. Secondary conjugation.

§ 414. **Intensives.** In the 'earlier language' there are, according to Whitney (*Roots*, etc.), 105 intensive stems not used later : 21 are common to all periods, and 41 appear only later. Whitney further states (Grammar, § 1001) that "intensives in the later language are extremely rare."

That the intensive formation was of importance earlier may be inferred from the occurrence of intensive adjectives (*yavīyādḥ*, *vānīvan*) and gerunds (*carkṛtya*, *vitantasāyya*, *marmrjēnya*) : these are not sufficiently numerous to be discussed here. The AV. has *āvicācala*, *sanīsyadā*, *sanīsrasā*, all with thematic *a*.

§ 415. Of the three intensive types (*dādar*, *dardar*, *darīdar*) all are in use in RV., but the third shews some decline in period C. The intensives as a whole are more common in B than in either A or C : and this is especially the case with the middle participles. The subjunctive mood is fairly common, the optative hardly found.¹

§ 416. In spite of the general decrease in period C, there is an increase in those present forms which employ optionally thematic *i* : viz. the singular of the indicative² and imperative, and the second and third persons singular of the imperfect : whilst the middle forms with *-ya* suffix die out. This increase is common to all the *-i* forms, except those of the pluperfect, as is shewn in the table in § 419. In period A more than half the *-i* forms belong to the two verbs *jōhavīmi*, *brāvīmi* : and this formation may be compared with the feminine adjectives in *-vī* from *-u* stems. Though never of importance, it served a useful purpose in providing an imperfect for *as* 'be', which is however rarely found before the period C. It may however have existed sooner, for only the third pl. *āsan* is used at all freely in RV., and the few occurrences of the earlier form *āḥ* are also in late hymns of the RV. Whilst therefore thematic *i* is to be recognized as a growing formation, it may well have existed in the earliest period side by side with the elements *-i*, *-cha*, and the element *-ya* as used with intensives.

§ 417. The forms containing thematic *-i* are : *brāvīmi* 6 AV. 7, *-iṣi* 1 AV. 1, *-īti* 2, *-ītu* 4 AV. 2, *-ītana* 2 : *ābravīḥ* AV. 1, *-īt* 14 AV. 12, *-īta*, *-ītana* 3 : *āsīḥ*, *āsīt* 45 AV. 26 : *ānūt* 2, *amīṣi*, *tavīti*, *avamīt* : *jōhavīmi* 11 AV. 12, *-īti* 6 AV. 1, *-ītu* AV. 1, *ājōhavīt* 5 : *cākaṣīmī* 2, *-īti* 1 AV. 1 : *carcarīti* AV. 1 ; *dardarīmi*, *-īti* : *dodhavīti* : *nāmnāmīti* : *nōnavīti* : *tartarīti*, *-īthaḥ* : *pāpatīti* : *jārbhurīti* : *bobhavīti* : *yaṁyamīti* : *dyoyavīt* : *rārāṇīti* AV. 1 : *rārāpīti* : *rōravīti* 5, *ārōravīt* 3 : *lālapīti* AV. 1 : *āvāvacīt* : *vāvadīti* 1 AV. 1, *-ītu* AV. 1 : *soṣavīti* : *jaṅghanīḥi* AV. 1, *taṁstanīḥi* AV. 1 : *āsīna* 7 AV. 9 : *cārītoḥ*, *suhāvītu*, *stārītave* AV. 2, *hāvītave* : in all, RV. 143, AV. 82 : besides the pluperfect forms enumerated above, § 410, viz. RV. 10.

¹ See Table, § 418.² Once also 2 du. *tartarīthaḥ*.

§ 418. Table of the intensives.

Refer to §		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
415	All forms of type <i>dādar</i>	76	33	68	101	20	11	43	74
	“ “ <i>dardar</i>	42	20	48	68	12	8	11	31
	“ “ <i>darīdar</i>	35	16	19	35	8	6	8	22
416	Active forms : participles	56	29	38	67	12	6	14	32
	“ subjunctive	13	2	13	15	2	3	4	9
	“ present without <i>ī</i>	12	2	12	14	7	7	5	19
	“ “ with <i>ī</i>	14	6	18	24	9	2	22	33
	“ other forms	13	5	11	16	1	1	6	8
	Middle forms : with <i>-ya</i>	9	2	8	10	—	—	2	2
	“ other participles	18	14	25	39	9	6	8	23
	“ other forms	18	9	10	19	—	—	1	1
All intensive forms		153	69	135	204	40	25	62	127

§ 419. Table of forms with thematic *ī*.

Refer to §		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
374d, 417	Pres. ind., imperative, and im- perfect : <i>brāvīmi</i> , etc.	6	3	5	8	17	2	23	42
	<i>āśīh</i> , <i>āstī</i>	1	—	5	5	10	30	26	66
	other words	0	—	—	0	3	2	—	5
410	Pluperfect	5	1	2	3	1	1	—	2
417	Intensive : <i>jōhavīmi</i> , etc.	9	6	5	11	2	—	14	16
	Rest	5	—	13	13	7	2	8	17
	Participle <i>āśīna</i>	—	2	2	4	2	1	9	12
	Inf. <i>hāvītave</i> , etc.	1	—	1	1	—	1	2	3
All forms		27	12	33	45	42	39	82	163

§ 420. **Desideratives.** Whitney notes 48 desideratives as used in the earlier language, to which *īṣa-* should probably be added : and 44 as used in all periods. Of these 93 stems RV. uses only 42, of which only 16 are used in AV., besides 11 others used there for the first time. There are therefore about 40 new stems in the later books of the ‘earlier language’, besides 30 first used in the later language. That the formation is old is shewn by its appearing also in adjectives, as *āpuçukṣāni* : but it is clear that its application to new stems was in vigorous progress in later times.

§ 421. In RV. we find about six desideratives established, viz. *īyakṣa-*, *īṣa-*, *mimikṣa-*, *vivāsa-*, *çikṣa-*, *śiṣāsa-*. In several of these a desiderative meaning is hardly perceptible. Almost all the examples we have of the subjunctive, optative, and imperative moods, and of the middle voice are from the verbs just named : almost all other forms are of the present and imperfect (and with the latter the unaugmented imperfect and improper subjunctive) and of the participles of the active voice. Perfects are formed only from *mimikṣa-* and *īṣa-*. The desiderative adjectives in *-su* are few but increasing in number.¹

¹ See Table, § 428.

It appears therefore that a distinct desiderative meaning was first employed only in certain prominent parts of the verb-system: and that as this use became more fully recognized, most of the earlier verbs of similar form, in which a desiderative meaning was at most slight, perished: *śikṣa* (the only verb of this class which remained to classical times) was no doubt preserved by the disguised form of its reduplication, which enabled it to pass muster as a distinct formation. The decay of *śiśāsa*, in which the secondary meaning is pronounced, seems less explicable.

§ 422. **Future.** The future in *-sya*, *-iśya* appears to be cognate to the desideratives both in form and meaning.¹ As is the case with the intensives and desideratives, a large proportion of the forms are participles. It is an increasing formation, but even in the AV. is still rare. That it was originally a secondary formation appears from its possessing in RV. an augmented tense, e.g. *ābharīṣyat*, and a subjunctive, e.g. *karīṣyāh*. As a tense, the future does not exist² before period C.

§ 423. The **Causative** conjugation or tenth verb-class is fully established in all parts of the RV. Middle and subjunctive forms are fairly frequent: but the perfect is wanting, and the optative and the middle participle are very rare. The only optatives noticed are *citāyema* (-ā) ii. 2. 10, iv. 36. 9, *dhārayeḥ* iv. 4. 8, *marjayema* iv. 4. 8, *mānayet* AV., *veçayet* AV., *sprhayet* i. 41. 9: and the only middle participles *kāmāyamāna* (AV.) *mahāyamāna*, *yātāyamāna*, *vardhāyamāna*, each occurring once. Several verbs use the middle indicative forms side by side with the active participles. There is a passive participle in *-ita*.

§ 424. This class is closely connected with the *-a* and *-ya* classes of verbs, and with the denominatives. That the suffix *-aya* had not originally any causative meaning may be inferred from its frequent occurrence with middle endings, and from its meaning often coinciding with that of the simple verb. The large increase in occurrences found in A and B seems due to causatives proper, but it is not always easy to distinguish these from the verbs which have causative form only. The following list is merely tentative:

Verbs in *-āya* without distinctive causative meaning: *āmāya*, *āvāya*, *iśāya*, *irāya*, *kāmāya*, *kūdāya*, *krpāya*, *gūrdhāya*, *grbhāya*, *ghārāya* (AV.), *ghoṣāya*, *codāya*, *chadāya*, *chādāya*, *chandāya*, *jambhāya*, *taṁsāya*, *tārāya* (AV.), *turāya*, *daṁsāya*, *damāya*, *dambhāya*, *dhanāya*, *dhārāya*, *dhāvāya*, *patāya*, *panāya*, *pidāya* (AV.), *pūrāya* (AV.), *barhāya*, *mādāya*, *madāya* (AV.), *mandāya*, *marjāya*, *mṛdāya*, *marcāya*, *yātāya*, *yāmāya*, *yavāya*, *yāvāya*, *yopāya*, *rañhāya*, *riśāya*, *rucāya*, *rejāya*, *vārāya*, *vājāya*, *varjāya* (AV.), *vardhāya*, *gātāya* (AV.), *gamāya* (AV.), *gundhāya*, *ṣobhāya* (AV.), *gnathāya*, *grathāya*, *sūdāya*, *sārāya*, *stanāya*, *spāçāya*, *sprhāya*, *sphūrjāya*, *syandāya*, *svadāya*, *svanāya*, *svarāya* (AV.), *hārāya*.²

¹ E.g. *aviṣyāt*, *sanīṣya*, *-āt*, here considered after Whitney as futures, are treated by Grassmann as desideratives.

² See Table, § 428.

§ 425. Causatives with the element *p* are found in the present and aorist : the formation¹ belongs to period C.

§ 426. **Denominatives.** These forms shew a marked diminution in period C, which however does not affect those verbs in which *y* is preceded by a long vowel (*ā ī ū*). The tendency to lengthen the thematic vowel is parallel to that observed in the subjunctive. The participles are in proportion very common in A and B, but fall off¹ considerably in C.

In the table of denominatives are included the stems *gopāyá-*, *pátya-*, and *haryá-* 'shine yellow', and the form *bhiṣákti*.

§ 427. Closely connected with the denominative verbs are a group of adjectives in *-yá*, and of substantives in *-yā*. These too are less frequent¹ in period C.

§ 428. Table of Desideratives, Futures, Causatives, and Denominatives.

Refer to §		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
421	Desideratives :								
	Stem <i>iyakṣa</i> v. B.	11	4	3	7	--	--	1	1
	“ <i>īṣa</i> v. B. U.	13	7	7	14	2	--	2	4
	“ <i>mimikṣa</i> v. B. S.	8	3	6	9	--	--	--	0
	“ <i>vivāsa</i> v.	32	9	12	21	1	1	1	3
	“ <i>ṣikṣa</i> v. + ...	24	13	15	28	7	4	10	21
	“ <i>siṣāsa</i> v. B.	20	6	5	11	1	2	3	6
	Other stems	31	11	36	47	7	15	44	66
	All forms	139	53	84	137	18	22	61	101
	Active voice :								
	pres. ind., etc., of verbs named	60	22	18	40	6	6	9	21
	“ “ other verbs ..	25	9	22	31	5	13	31	49
	subjunctive, “ of verbs named	31	15	20	35	3	--	6	9
	“ “ other verbs ..	1	--	4	4	--	--	5	5
	Middle voice : verbs named	17	5	10	15	2	1	2	5
	“ “ other verbs	5	2	10	12	2	2	8	12
421	Adjectives in <i>-su</i>	8	7	6	13	1	1	12	14
422	Futures : finite in <i>-sya</i>	0	--	--	0	3	--	16	19
	“ “ <i>-īṣya</i>	6	2	5	7	5	--	38	43
	“ participles in <i>-sya</i>	3	1	3	4	--	3	7	10
	“ “ <i>-īṣya</i>	4	2	5	7	2	2	8	12
	All forms	13	5	13	18	10	5	69	84

¹ See Table, § 428.

423	Causatives in <i>-āya</i>	177	127	183	310	39	66	351	456
424	Other verbs “	210	101	171	272	46	36	208	290
425	Causatives with <i>p</i> (present, etc.)	3	4	9	13	7	4	40	51
	“ “ (aorist)	1	1	..	1	1	1	6	8
	All causative forms	391	233	363	596	93	107	605	805
426	Denominatives:								
	Stems in <i>-āya, -īya, -uya, -eya</i> ..	61	24	39	63	9	6	18	33
	“ <i>-āya, -īya, -ūya</i>	78	41	65	106	18	9	53	80
	“ <i>-sya</i>	58	28	37	65	9	4	21	34
	Other stems	76	34	49	83	8	4	25	37
	All forms	273	127	190	317	44	23	117	184
	Finite forms	130	44	90	134	24	15	71	110
	Participles	143	83	100	183	20	8	46	74
427	Adjectives in <i>-yū</i>	187	56	72	128	11	3	46	60
	Substantives in <i>-yā</i>	30	15	19	34	2	1	12	15

§ 429. Table shewing the general history of the verb.

Refer to §		A	B	C	D	E (trebled)
370	Present indicative (active and middle)	2578	2602	3280	2648	2313
393	Present subjunctive (<i>a</i> forms) (active and middle)	262	246	364	20	----
394	Present optative (active and middle)	244	176	239	828	330
371, 372	Passive (except the aorist)	153	236	424	388	576
411	Moods of the perfect	103	105	44	----	----
411	Pluperfect	27	30	19	----	----
407	Aorists	2031	1811	1440	125	111
409	Imperfect	541	1365	1216	1078	744
415	Intensive	153	204	127	21	15
421	Desiderative	139	137	101	29	24
422	Future (<i>-sya, -īśya</i>)	13	18	84	125	525
423, 424	Causative (including all verbs in <i>-āya</i>)	387	582	746	401	597
425	Causative with <i>p</i> (excluding aorists)	3	13	51	69	12
426	Denominative	273	317	184	56	108
356-360	Infinitive	506	354	155	21	309
362, 363	Absolutive	27	83	288	326	1503
	All forms tabulated	7440	8279	8762	6135	7167

CHAPTER VI. NUMERALS, PRONOUNS, ADVERBS, AND PARTICLES. §§ 430-459.

§ 430. These parts of speech, although they belong to vocabulary, have affinity to the flexional part of the language, for their use is of a formal character, and largely independent of the subject-matter of any particular book. It seems therefore right to treat of them, as is usual, as a part of Grammar.

A. Numerals and Pronouns.

§ 431. The only numeral that calls for attention is *éka*, for which see § 296.

§ 432. We have already noticed (§ 277) the great increase in the use of the pronoun of the first person singular in the later Vedic periods: and have attributed it to the increasingly personal character of the hymns, and to the introduction of dramatic episodes. But even in the AV. the pronoun of the second person is more common.¹

§ 433. Of the demonstrative pronouns, *syá tyá* is early: *etád* is late in most of its forms. For the nom. sing. *esá*, *esáh* see above § 281: the nom. acc. dual m. *etá*, n. *eté*, nom. acc. pl. m. *eté*, *etán*, neut. *etá*, *etáni*, may also have been established early: the remaining masc. and neuter forms and the whole of the feminine, appear to be late. Late are also *ena* and *adás*²: *tva* 'any' belongs to B₂.

§ 434. *Sárva*, with the meaning 'all' is late, and may be included here: as also *bahú* 'much' with its compounds.

§ 435. The derived forms *katará*, *katamá* are late: still more so *yatará*, *yatamá*, and *ítara*: *anyatará* does not occur.

§ 436. Comparatives and superlatives of prepositions are markedly more common in the later periods: *úpara* and *upamá* alone seem proper to the earlier time: *ántara* *ántama* may be added, if the derivative *antárikṣa*, which is more common late, is put out of account: *vitárám* belongs to B₂ and C₁.

¹ See Table, § 437.

² But see above § 284.

§ 437. Table of pronouns.

Refer to §		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
432	<i>ahám</i> singular ¹	202	76	197	273	115	84	769	968
	<i>tvám</i> "	1482	550	670	1220	190	152	1151	1493
433	<i>syá, tyá</i>	112	38	44	82	4	3	2	9
	<i>etád</i> : nom. acc. m. n. dual and plural	33	18	18	36	16	5	13	34
	acc. masc. <i>etám</i>	17	6	3	9	5	1	37	43
	n. a. neut. <i>etád</i> (includ- ing adverb)	6	6	4	10	13	3	57	73
	other forms masc. and neut.	2	--	1	1	2	2	13	17
	feminine forms	10	10	15	25	7	11	60	78
	<i>ena</i>	22	14	19	33	15	20	202	237
	<i>adás</i> (<i>asaú, amu-</i> etc.)	11	6	12	18	9	14	137	160
	<i>tva</i> 'any'	1	--	14	14	2	--	2	4
434	<i>sárva</i> 'all'	7	3	5	8	7	18	447	472
	<i>bahú</i> 'much'	4	7	6	13	13	6	35	54
435	<i>katará, katamá</i>	5	1	6	7	3	2	17	22
	<i>yatará, yatamá</i>	0	--	--	0	--	3	20	23
	<i>ítara</i>	1	--	--	0	--	3	12	15
436	<i>úpara, upamá</i>	23	12	19	31	5	1	5	11
	<i>ádhara, adhamá</i>	4	--	10	10	5	9	57	71
	<i>ántara, ántama</i>	19	1	9	10	4	1	3	8
	<i>ántarikṣa</i>	28	11	43	54	12	10	130	152
	<i>ápara, apamá</i>	8	3	15	18	2	3	30	35
	<i>ávára, avamá</i>	10	8	14	22	12	2	18	32
	<i>úttara, úttamá</i>	27	1	22	23	17	15	96	128
	<i>paramá</i>	15	18	26	44	12	4	59	75
	<i>parātarám</i>	0	--	--	0	3	--	--	3
	<i>pratárám</i>	0	2	12	14	1	2	10	13
	<i>prathamá</i>	30	42	67	109	29	13	82	124
	<i>vitárám</i>	0	2	4	6	2	--	--	2
	<i>saṁtarám</i>	0	--	--	0	--	--	1	1

B. Case-forms used as adverbs.

§ 438. There is no definite line to be drawn between idiomatic uses of case-forms, and adverbs. In order to avoid questions of criticism, those words will be here treated as adverbs which are so recorded in the respective *indices verborum*².

§ 439. **Accusatives as adverbs.** Several adverbs retain the pronominal ending *-d*: of these *kád* is peculiar to RV.: of its correlatives, *kám* is stable, *kam* perhaps declining: *íd, kuvíd, cid, smád* are all declining³: but *svíd* is increasing in importance, as are *céd* and *néd*.

Many adverbs resemble the accusative neuter in *-ah -ih -uh*: with them may be grouped those in *-ar, -ur*. Of these *aváh, mitháh, gváh, múhur, sasvár* shew no important change: *adáh, adháh,*

¹ *Ahám* is not included in the tabulated groups in the Introduction, for the reasons given in § 432.

² To this a few exceptions are made: e. g. *dūrám, dūré, dūrāt* are treated as adverbs.

³ The expanded form *sumád* is rather later than *smád*.

parāh and *pūnar* are more common late: *āvīh* is proper to B, and *bāhīh* first occurs in AV.

There are several adverbs in *-am*: *tūyam* 'quickly' is early, as is also *nūnām* 'now,' which goes almost entirely out of use in AV., but reappears as an asseverative particle in the Brāhmaṇas: *dūrām* 'to a distance' *sāyam* 'at evening' are late. Others are of less importance.

*Ānuṣāk*¹ and the rare *āyuṣāk* are early: so too *śdhak*: *pīthak* is late.

Whether forms in *-im* belong here is more than doubtful. *ākim*, *nākim*, *mākim* are found occasionally in A and B: *im* and *sim* are both² most common in B: *tūṣṇim* occurs only once (in C₂). For words in *-ānim* see below § 450.³

§ 440. **Instrumentals as adverbs.** Amongst forms in *-ā* we have the old words *tmānā*, *sācā*, as well as *gūhā*, which remains in use. In *dvitā*, *bāhūtā* we seem to have the beginnings of a new formation in *-tā*: these words, however, die out. Of many words referring to time and place *purā* occurs evenly in all periods, the rest shew more or less growth. From the adjectives of direction we find *uccā*, *nīcā*, *paścā*, *prācā*- chiefly in B: *uccāih*, *nīcāih*, *parācāih* almost exclusively in C: with the latter group may be classified the isolated forms *śānaih* (viii. 45. 11; 80. 3) *śanakaīh* (viii. 80. 3 *bis*). Further we have a group of words denoting sounds, of which *kikirā* is the most distinctive and *svāhā* (if it is rightly grouped with the others) the most frequent: these belong to period C.

Many of the forms included above (§ 146) amongst 'homophonous instrumentals' may equally well be considered as adverbs.

The forms *enā*, *ayā* may be considered as transition forms to the fuller instrumental endings: they have been discussed above, § 284. Adverbs in *-ena* are not found in the Vedic period: there are a few in *-ayā*,⁴ which die out. Nor do the parallel feminine forms in *-iyā*, *-yā*, *-uyā* attain importance at any time.⁵

List of words: (i.) in *ā*: (a) adverbs of manner: *gūhā* 53 AV. 13, *tmānā* 60 AV. 1, *vinā* AV. 1 (?), *sācā* 86; *dvitā* 29, *bāhūtā* (?) 2: (b) of place *amā* 13 (including compounds) AV. 15, *antarā* 8 (including compounds) AV. 20, *apāktā*, *pārā* 68 AV. 107: (c) of time *anā* 5, *sānā* 4 (including compound) AV. 2, *divā* 25 AV. 15, *nānā* 17 AV. 5, *purā* (with compounds, but not including *purānā*, etc.) 69 AV. 30; *uccā* 15 AV. 1, *nīcā* 7 AV. 1, *paścā* 8 AV. 3, *prācā*- 4: (d) of sounds *kikirā* 2, *ciṣcā* 1, *masmasā* AV. 1, *svāhā* and compounds 23 AV. 75. (ii.) in *-aiḥ*: *uccāih* 1 AV. 5, *nīcāih* AV. 7, *parācāih* 6 AV. 5, *prācāih*, *śānaiḥ* 2, *śanakaīh*. (iii.) in *-ayā*: *adatrayā*, *āsaya* 2, *ṛtaya*, *kāyā* 3, *kūhayā*, *nak-tayā*, *svapnayā* AV. 1. (iv.) in *-iyā*, *-yā*: *urviyā* 23 AV. 2, *tmānyā* 2, *vīcavyā*. (v.) in *-uyā*: see Lanman, p. 408, and § 181 sup.

¹ Once *sānuṣāk*.

² The uses of these words as pronouns (acc. to Grassmann) are included in the Table.

³ See Table, § 444.

⁴ Some of these may be homophonous instrumentals from stems in *-ayā*.

§ 441. **Ablatives as adverbs.** These are found only with the endings *-āt*, *-tāt*, the latter being added to stems ending in *-c*, to adverbs in *-s*, or to ablative forms in *-āt*. The analysis of *paçcātāt* is uncertain. The adverbs in *-āt*, *-stāt*, *-ktāt* from adjectives signifying direction, are more common late.

List of words : (i.) in *-āt* (of direction); *adharāt* 7 AV. 10, *apākāt*, *uttarāt* 2 AV. 12, *paçcāt* 17 AV. 22. (ii.) others of place in *-āt*: *amāt* 2, *ārāt* 15 AV. 10, *āsāt* 2, *dūrāt* 18 AV. 4, *sanāt* 21. (iii.) in *-stāt* (of direction): *adhāstāt*, *avāstāt* 3, *upāriṣtāt* 1 AV. 2, *parāstāt* 5 AV. 10, *purāstāt* 30 AV. 23. (iv.) in *-ktāt* (of direction): *āpāktāt*, *ūdāktāt* 4, *prāktāt*. (v.) *paçcātāt* 4. (vi.) in *-āttāt*: *adharāttāt*, *ārāttāt* 3, *uttarāttāt* 2, *parākāttāt*. (vii.) from pronouns: *āt* 113 AV. 18, *tāt* 2, *yāt* 4 AV. 1.¹

§ 442. *Sadyāh*, perhaps a genitive form, is more common¹ in A and B: but also classical.

§ 443. Locatives as adverbs are not easily to be distinguished from the corresponding case-forms: *ārē* and *dūrē* on the one hand, *rtē* on the other, will illustrate this formation. As loc. pl. *maksū* may perhaps be reckoned; it is a very early word from which an *u* stem has been formed:¹ see above, § 207.

§ 444. Table of case-forms used as adverbs.

Refer to §		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
	Accusatives as adverbs :								
439	(i.) in <i>-d</i> : <i>kād</i>	5	3	4	7	2	--	--	2
	<i>kām</i>	23	4	9	13	8	1	13	22
	<i>kam</i>	8	2	6	8	1	2	1	4
	<i>id</i>	338	89	207	296	90	25	76	191
	<i>kuvīd</i>	13	7	12	19	1	--	1	2
	<i>cid</i>	286	88	134	222	35	18	13	66
	“ (with interrogatives) ..	43	12	11	23	3	3	3	9
	<i>smād</i> and compounds	15	1	6	7	1	--	--	1
	<i>sumād</i> “	2	1	6	7	1	--	1	2
	<i>svid</i>	9	4	9	13	16	5	13	34
	<i>céd</i> , <i>néd</i>	2	1	--	1	2	1	15	18
	(ii.) in <i>-s</i> , <i>-r</i> : <i>adāh</i>	3	1	--	1	--	3	14	17
	<i>adhāh</i> (with <i>adhaspada</i>) ..	1	--	3	3	1	4	9	14
	<i>parāh</i>	11	6	7	13	11	6	32	49
	<i>pūnar</i> and compounds	19	7	31	38	15	31	71	117
	<i>āvīh</i>	8	10	19	29	4	2	7	13
	<i>bahīh</i>	0	--	--	0	--	--	14	14
	(iii.) in <i>-am</i> : <i>tāyam</i>	10	3	7	10	2	--	--	2
	<i>sāyam</i>	1	1	--	1	--	2	19	21
	<i>nūnām</i>	65	16	18	34	7	2	2	11
	<i>dūrām</i>	3	1	2	3	2	2	16	20
	(iv.) without suffix : <i>ānuśāk</i> (with <i>sānuśāk</i>) ..	22	5	8	13	1	--	--	1
	<i>āyusāk</i>	2	--	--	0	--	--	--	0
	<i>ṛdhak</i>	9	2	2	4	1	--	--	1
	<i>pṛthak</i>	4	1	5	6	4	--	17	21
	(v.) in <i>īm</i> : <i>ākīm</i> , etc.	2	--	3	3	--	--	--	0
	<i>īm</i>	82	44	68	112	17	2	1	20
	<i>sim</i>	13	10	23	33	3	--	1	4

¹ See Table, § 444.

Refer to §		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
440	Instrumentals as adverbs : in -ā : <i>gūhā</i> -----	17	11	20	31	3	2	13	18
	<i>tmānā</i> -----	35	7	16	23	2	--	1	3
	<i>sācā</i> -----	57	10	16	26	3	--	--	3
	<i>dvitā, bāhūtā</i> -----	20	8	3	11	--	--	--	0
	<i>amā, antarā, apākā</i> -----	6	3	6	9	4	3	35	42
	<i>pārā</i> -----	21	10	18	28	6	13	107	126
	<i>anā, sāmā</i> -----	2	2	3	5	2	--	2	4
	<i>divā</i> -----	12	4	4	8	3	2	15	20
	<i>nānā</i> -----	5	2	6	8	3	1	5	9
	<i>uccā, nīcā, paṣcā, prācā-</i>	6	5	15	20	4	3	5	12
	<i>uccāḥ, etc.</i> -----	2	1	3	4	4	1	17	22
	<i>kikirā, etc.</i> -----	6	3	11	14	5	1	76	82
	words in -ayā -----	6	2	1	3	--	--	1	1
	<i>urviyā, tmānyā, viṣvyā</i> -----	2	7	14	21	2	1	2	5
441	Ablatives as adverbs : <i>adharāt, etc.</i> -----	10	2	3	5	4	8	44	56
	<i>amāt, etc.</i> -----	22	11	14	25	11	1	14	26
	<i>adhātāt, etc.</i> -----	8	2	17	19	7	6	35	48
	<i>āpāktāt, etc.</i> -----	1	--	--	0	--	5	--	5
	<i>paṣcātāt</i> -----	1	--	2	2	1	--	--	1
	<i>adharāttāt, etc.</i> -----	4	--	2	2	1	--	--	1
	<i>āt, tāt, yāt</i> -----	40	17	33	50	17	--	19	36
442	Genitive as adverb : <i>sadyāḥ</i> ¹ -----	33	10	26	36	4	--	10	14
443	Locatives as adverbs : <i>āré, dūrē</i> ..	21	5	19	24	4	5	8	17
	<i>rté</i> -----	5	1	2	3	1	--	2	3
	<i>makṣā</i> -----	25	7	--	7	--	--	--	0

C. Adverbs with suffixes other than those of the cases.

§ 445. This is the most important class of adverbs. The words will be discussed in the order adopted in Whitney's *Grammar*.

§ 446. The ending -*tāḥ* is added (i.) to pronouns, and to nouns and adjectives so as to indicate generally direction; (ii.) to the names of parts of the body; (iii.) to other nouns. The first class is the most important: *ātāḥ, āntitāḥ* and *viṣvātāḥ* alone are early, all other words are more common late. The second class is found in period C: the third is everywhere rare.

List of words: (i.) *agratāḥ* 1 AV. 2, *ātāḥ* 56 AV. 6, *antatāḥ* AV. 1, *āntitāḥ* 6, *anyūtāḥ* 1 AV. 2, *apāktāḥ* AV. 1, *amūtāḥ* 3 AV. 9, *abhūtāḥ* 25 AV. 9, *avārātāḥ, ūtāḥ* 28 AV. 71, *uttaratāḥ* AV. 2, *udaktāḥ* AV. 2, *ubhayātāḥ* 2, *kūtāḥ* 11 AV. 14, *caramātāḥ* AV. 1, *tātāḥ* 22 AV. 46, *dakṣiṇatāḥ* 7 AV. 7, *dūratāḥ* AV. 1, *parītāḥ* AV. 1, *prāktāḥ* AV. 1, *madhyatāḥ* 3 AV. 11, *yātāḥ*

¹ *Sadyāḥ*, being in use in classical Sanskrit, is not included in the groups of the Introduction.

24 AV. 15, *viçvátāh* 68 AV. 22, *samānátāh*, *sarvátāh* 2 AV. 14, *savyatāh*: in all, RV. 262, AV. 238. (ii.) *āsyatāh* AV. 2, *kar-natāh* AV. 1, *pattāh*, *pattatāh* AV. 1, *patsutāh*, *mukhatāh* 1 AV. 1, *çīrsatāh* 1 AV. 2, *hṛttāh*: in all, RV. 5, AV. 7. (iii.) *abhī-patāh*, *itātāh*, *ṛbhutāh*, *jyeshthatāh* AV. 1, *bhadratāh* AV. 1, *mat-tāh* AV. 1, *manyutāh* AV. 1, *maryatāh*, *samudratāh* AV. 1, *sindhutāh* AV. 1: in all, RV. 4, AV. 6. The whole number of occurrences is therefore in RV. 271, in AV. 251.¹

§ 447. The ending *-tra*, *-trā* is established in RV. in *ātra*, *yātra*. The only other words used with any frequency are *tātra*, and *anyātra*; all are more common late. On the other hand *-trā* is a decaying ending, and especially so in the word *satrā* and its compounds.

List of words: (i.) *ātra* 119 AV. 35, *anyātra* 3 AV. 13, *amū-tra* AV. 4, *ubhayātra*, *tātra* 23 AV. 49, *yātra* 123 AV. 51, *viç-vātra*. (ii.) *akūtrā*, *asmatrā* 8, *kūtrā* 3, *dakṣiṇatrā*, *devatrā* 22 AV. 2, *pākatrā* 2, *purutrā* 28 AV. 2, *puruṣatrā* 2, *bahutrā*, *martyatrā* 5, *çayutrā* 2, *satrā* (with its compounds) 54 AV. 2.¹

§ 448. Of adverbs in *-ha* with local meaning *ihā* shews a decided increase in C: *kūha*, *viçvāha* shew little change. Of other adverbs in *-ha*, *sahā* shews a great increase.¹

§ 449. The only adverb in *-thā*, *-tha* is *ātha*: this is rightly described by Grassmann as late: in period C it is usually accompanied by *u*. Of other adverbs in *-thā*, *itthā*, *kathā*, *yathā* (unaccented), and *vīthā* are early: but *ṛtuthā*, *tāthā*, and *yāthā* are more common late: the words less often used *anyāthā*, *imāthā*, *ūrdhvatthā*, *evāthā*, *nāmāthā*, *pūrvāthā*, *pratnāthā*, *viçvāthā* hardly occur after B. The formation in *-thā* must therefore be regarded as on the whole decadent.¹

§ 450. Adverbs of time in *-dā* are irregular: *idā* *sādā* belong to period A: *kadā* *yadā* to all periods: *tadā* *sarvadā* are found in AV. only, replacing the two early words. *Sādam* is used in all the Vedic periods.

Forms in *-ānīm* (*idānīm*, *tadānīm*, *viçvadānīm*) are late.

Of forms in *-rhi* *kārhi* occurs 5 times in RV., of which three are in A: but *tārhi* only in C₂ and AV., whilst other adverbs are later than AV.

Yādi 'if' is more common in C, probably for reasons of idiom.¹

§ 451. Of adverbs in *-dhā* none are very common; they are found in all periods. *ādha* (*adhā*) is a decaying form: but more especially so in its use with other particles, which is not found after period B. *addhā* 'in truth' is found in all periods.¹

§ 452. Adverbs in *-çāḥ* are much more common in C than earlier.¹

§ 453. The suffix *-vāt* 'like' is not peculiar to Vedic Sanskrit (Whitney, Gr. § 1107): but within the Veda it is most common in A.

§ 454. Table of adverbs with suffixes other than those of the cases.

¹ See Table, § 454.

Refer to §		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
446	Adverbs in <i>-taḥ</i> .								
	(i.) Older words: <i>ātaḥ</i>	22	8	16	24	6	4	6	16
	<i>antitaḥ</i>	1	2	1	3	2	--	--	2
	<i>viçvātaḥ</i>	24	9	22	31	5	8	22	35
	Later words: <i>abhitaḥ</i>	3	6	10	16	4	2	9	15
	<i>itāḥ</i>	9	3	3	6	2	11	71	84
	<i>kūtaḥ</i>	5	--	3	3	1	2	14	17
	<i>tātaḥ</i>	6	1	--	1	6	9	46	61
	<i>dakṣinatāḥ</i>	1	--	2	2	3	1	7	11
	<i>yātaḥ</i>	8	3	7	10	3	3	15	21
	Other words	3	2	5	7	2	3	48	53
	(ii.) <i>āsyatāḥ</i> , etc.	1	--	1	1	3	--	7	10
	(iii.) <i>abhīpatāḥ</i> , etc.	1	--	1	1	2	--	6	8
	All in <i>-taḥ</i>	84	34	71	105	39	43	251	333
447	Adverbs in <i>-tra</i> , <i>-trā</i> : <i>ātra</i>	31	15	41	56	21	11	35	67
	<i>anyātra</i>	2	--	--	0	1	--	13	14
	<i>tātra</i>	3	3	7	10	1	9	49	59
	<i>yātra</i>	25	19	31	50	21	27	51	99
	Other words	1	--	1	1	--	--	4	4
	All in <i>-tra</i>	62	37	80	117	44	47	152	243
448	Words in <i>-trā</i>	37	7	19	26	8	4	4	16
	<i>satrā</i> and compds	36	10	8	18	--	--	2	2
	Adverbs in <i>-ha</i>								
	(i.) local: <i>ihā</i>	97	33	73	106	33	26	200	259
	<i>kūha</i>	5	1	3	4	2	1	3	6
	<i>viçvāha</i>	4	2	8	10	3	--	7	10
	(ii.) others: <i>āha</i>	23	9	14	23	6	1	7	14
	<i>samāha</i>	1	--	2	2	--	--	2	2
	<i>ha</i>	69	28	59	87	10	6	52	68
	<i>sahā</i> and compounds	14	7	17	24	5	17	118	140
449	<i>ātha</i>	25	19	32	51	16	9	48	73
	<i>ātha u</i>	3	1	5	6	7	16	118	141
450	Adverbs in <i>-thā</i> : <i>itthā</i>	44	7	12	19	2	2	4	8
	<i>kathā</i>	7	10	5	15	2	1	1	4
	<i>yathā</i> (unaccented)	23	1	7	8	--	3	3	6
	<i>vīthā</i>	19	2	3	5	1	--	--	1
	<i>anyāthā</i> , etc.	9	9	7	16	--	--	1	1
	All the above	102	29	34	63	5	6	9	20
	<i>rtuthā</i>	2	3	5	8	5	3	1	9
	<i>tāthā</i>	7	--	2	2	2	3	36	41
	<i>yāthā</i>	113	31	44	75	15	28	181	224
450	<i>-dā</i> : <i>idā</i>	11	--	1	1	--	--	--	0
	<i>sādā</i> and compounds	42	5	10	15	--	--	8	8
	<i>-dānīm</i>	1	1	4	5	1	2	4	7
	<i>-dī</i> : <i>yādī</i>	33	14	13	27	4	10	55	69
451	<i>-dhā</i> , <i>-dha</i> : <i>ādha</i>	77	18	37	55	10	5	16	31
	“ with other particles	30	4	11	15	--	--	--	0
452	<i>-cāḥ</i>	6	--	6	6	6	--	14	20
453	<i>-vāt</i>	41	11	15	26	--	1	3	4

D. Particles without suffix.

§ 455. *Sú* as an independent word is fairly common in period A, then rapidly becomes rarer.

§ 456. Asseverative particles are particularly common in the earliest parts of the *Rigveda*: to the early words already discussed, viz. *ádha*, *itthá*, *íd*, *dvitá* may now be added *gha*, *tú*, *sma*. On the other hand *aṅgá* occurs in all parts, *kíla* more often late: but these latter words are comparatively unimportant. In all periods *u*, *hi* are very common.¹

§ 457. *Ná* used in comparisons is extremely common in A and B₁, much rarer in B₂: in C it almost disappears. In classical Sanskrit it is wanting: in later books it again comes into use². Its correlative *iva* is common in all periods³: but the words *va*, *vai*, *evá*, *evám* are all late. *Íti* is also much more common in the later hymns.

§ 458. Of words used as prepositions also the most noticeable are *ácha*, which is early, and *ápi* which is more common late. The latter in classical Sanskrit is chiefly used as a conjunction, though this is seldom the case in RV. or AV.

§ 459. Table of particles without suffix.

Refer to §		A	B ₁	B ₂	B	C ₁	C ₂	AV	C
455	<i>sú</i>	120	23	53	76	24	6	14	44
456	<i>aṅgá</i>	15	7	9	16	4	3	8	15
	<i>gha</i>	40	7	15	22	10	--	3	13
	<i>tú</i>	34	11	3	14	2	--	2	4
	<i>sma</i>	62	11	21	32	7	6	13	26
	<i>kíla</i>	0	--	4	4	4	3	2	9
457	<i>ná</i> 'as'	628	216	321	537	33	9	18	60
	<i>va</i> (for <i>iva</i>)	8	3	6	9	11	7	91	109
	<i>vai</i>	8	2	5	7	5	6	112	123
	<i>evá</i>	41	34	42	76	16	17	237	270
	<i>evám</i>	0	--	--	0	--	1	66	67
	<i>íti</i>	16	7	11	18	9	9	85	103
458	<i>ácha</i>	52	23	24	47	5	1	14	20
	<i>ápi</i> , prep.	30	8	25	33	19	12	65	96
	“ adverb.	3	1	3	4	1	2	12	15

¹ See Table, § 459.

² Böhtlingk, *Wörterbuch* sub voce. The attempt to connect *ná* 'like' with *ná* 'not' is quite contrary to all probabilities: but there seem to be traces of an asseverative particle *ná* 'truly,' which is closely connected with *ná* 'like.' If we compare a greedy boy to a pig we do not say "no, he is not (exactly) a pig," but "yes he is a pig."

³ A complete list of occurrences does not seem to be available.

CONCLUSION.

§ 460. In the preceding pages the attempt has been made to give by the aid of figures a fairly complete picture of the changes in Sanskrit phonology and accidentence which can be traced in the Vedic period, and thus to indicate the lines upon which an historical Vedic Grammar may some day be written. It remains to consider whether the picture thus drawn is consistent with historical probability, and tends to confirm the theory of literary epochs in the Veda upon which it depends: and further what the principal features of the picture itself are.

§ 461. To the evidence summarized in § 41, which is based upon the number of occurrences of the most important 'early' and 'late variations,' it is now desirable to add the further evidence which may be based upon the number of variations alone, and to extend their definition so as to include changes of a much more gradual kind. The amount of matter in AB is about double that in C: and if a variation occurs 20 times in AB, or 10 times in C, and in either case half as often again as the amount of matter accounts for, we have so far a reasonable presumption that the variation is historically 'early' or 'late.' For this purpose, then, let 'early variations' be those which occur at least 20 times in AB, being 3 times as often as in C: and 'late variations' those which occur at least 10 times in C, being three-fourths as often as in AB.

§ 462. This wider definition frees us from the objection urged to our former argument, that a late poem may have been decked out by the repeated introduction of metrical and formal archaisms, so as to appear at first glance of a much earlier date. For unless this artifice approached the standard of high scholarly art, it would be at once detected by disregarding the number of occurrences, and considering only if early variations numerous in kind are present, and (still more particularly) if late variations are absent. This test should accordingly be applied to the main presupposition of this article, namely, that the hymns included in A are on the whole earlier than those included in B.

§ 463. It may, however, be urged that we now run an opposite risk, and that by our new and more lax definition there will be included a number of so-called variations that are based upon a few occurrences really attributable to chance: and that therefore each 'variation' should be examined on its own individual merits, and in accordance with established literary canons. Such a scrutiny I believe not to be practicable or desirable for the present purpose: first because it is in a very high degree improbable that chance will at all materially affect the relative value of the respective figures, it being of the disposition of that deity to dis-

tribute favours impartially to both sides ; but principally because the literary canons appealed to are in the main the prepossessions of each individual writer, and are far more likely to mislead than to aid. But though in this respect I look upon the detailed 'weighing' of evidence as a mistake, any one who makes the experiment will soon convince himself that it will not affect appreciably the results, always provided that the whole range of evidence is not unduly narrowed.

§ 464. In the tables included in this article about 900 distinct variations are examined numerically, and it seems unlikely that any great number have been neglected. Of these, 257 satisfy our present definition of 'early variations,' and 233 have the same title to be considered late. Each variation may be considered to be more prevalent in A or in B if it has in either period a greater number of occurrences by one-fourth than in the other.

	Early	Late
More common in A	106	32
Equally common	105	55
More common in B	46	146
	257	233

By this test the variations are distributed as shewn at the side. The 'early variations' prevalent in A are twice as many as in B: but 'late variations' are only one-fifth as many. If therefore there is artifice in the apparently early character of A, it extends not only to the introduction of some

scores of archaisms, but also to the careful exclusion of from fifty to one hundred neoterisms: although the respective archaisms and neoterisms are to a large extent such as could only have been recognised by careful study.

§ 465. But these figures are not given only as evidence, but also to shew the proportion between the main current of change and the eddies. For it appears that whilst B and C agree as to 252 variations, yet A and C agree in as many as 78: whilst in 160 neither A nor B is appreciably nearer to C. In other words, of every 100 changes taking place from B to C, we find 52 only progressing between A and B, whilst in 16 cases the change is then in the opposite direction. This 16 per cent. represents, it would seem, the failures of literary development: changes or variations which attained at one time to considerable vogue, but were yet destined to disappear or be reversed in the succeeding epoch. Similarly 52 per cent. represents the proportion of progressive change: and the remainder (32 per cent.) the new creations of the later period. But many variations, though not destined to survive, are in themselves of great beauty and importance, and as such are discussed in the body of this article: such are the instr. pl. in *-ebhih*, the unaugmented past tenses, the 1st pers. pl. ending in *-masi*, and the use of the verbal infixes *-nā*, *-nī*, *-nu*. I fail however to observe any general characteristic which would be a reason for ascribing to the hymns of any intermediate period a special dialectic or literary character.

§ 466. I would now return to consider the main stream of change, and call attention to one or two of the most important currents of which it is composed. The first may be named "Syllabic contraction": it has been generally recognised, and has now been shewn to mark more particularly the first period of the Rigveda. Its effect is to combine two syllables in one, either by contraction of consecutive vowels or by consonantization of the elements which may be variously written, (i.) *iy, uv, ar, an*, (ii.) *iy, uv, rr, nn*, (iii.) *i u r n*: the consonantal resultants being *y v r n* respectively.

This process, though general, proceeds more rapidly after a light syllable, and thus suggests the generalization that a heavy syllable is followed by a syllabic element: and in this way original *y v* come not rarely to be vocalized. By 'resolution' of a vowel or semi-vowel we understand generally the critical process by which the earlier forms are restored to the text: but 'resolution' occurs also from time to time in a historical sense, from causes such as that just described.

§ 467. Not less striking is the process which may be described as "Flexional expansion," which is due to efforts (which in the main I take to be conscious) to introduce distinctness into flexional elements originally slight in bulk and of multiple connotation. "Flexional expansion" is at work on a grand scale in period B, and even in C is still a very strong force: its differentiating value appears strikingly in the development of an original *-ā* final into such various forms as *-au, -āni, -ena, -ayā*. Instances of flexional expansion are found on almost every page of this article: but the following suggestions may be referred to as being more novel than others, and with all reserves as to each particular case:

-*ā* dual to -*ā*, § 149.
-*aiḥ* instr. pl. to -*ebhiḥ*, § 156.
-*yai* fem. dat. to -*āyai*, § 162.
-*iā* instr. s. to -*inā*, § 180.
-*ī, -ī* instr. s. to -*iā*, § 181.
-*yah* nom. v. pl. to -*ayah*, § 184.
-*as* inst. s. to -*asā*, § 245.
-*an* loc. s. to -*ani*, § 249.
-*ā, -a* pl. *an-* stems to -*āni*, § 250.
tvé loc. to *tvāyi*, § 274.
-*tāt* suffix to -*tāti*, § 299.

-*maḥ* 1 pl. to -*masi*, § 317.
-*tha, -ta* to -*thana, -tana*, § 318.
-*e, -se, -te* subj. to -*ai, -sai, -tai*, §§ 320, 321.
-*s, -t* subj. to -*si, -ti*, § 321.
-*ā* 1. 3. sing. pf. to -*au*, § 331.
infixes added:
-*a* subjunctive, § 392.
-*ī* thematic, § 416.
-*p* causative, § 425.

§ 468. "Flexional expansion" often comes into conflict with "syllabic contraction": it proves the stronger force, and holds its ground by the aid of infixes, such as *y r n s*: thus the instr. s. -*iā* becomes in most cases -*inā* not -*yā*. The principle seems to run mad in such forms as *paṣcātāt, parākātāt* in period C: and the gen. pl. in -*ānaam* seems to be a similar wild growth in pre-Vedic times.

§ 469. The process of class-formation, otherwise described as 'transition' or 'false analogy,' has been fully recognised by previous writers, and needs to be defined rather than illustrated. In

the noun-system it serves in the Vedic period to strengthen distinctions of gender, such as those between stems in *-a*, *-i*, *-u* (masc. neut.), and *-ā*, *-ī*, *-vī*, *-rī* (fem.). In the verb-system it develops from almost colourless suffixes the *-s* future, the passives, and all varieties of secondary conjugation.

§ 470. The assimilation of foreign elements appears chiefly in the growth of the letter *l*, and of the lingual series generally.

§ 471. Finally, it may not be altogether superfluous to advert to the spread of the instrumental case and the passive voice, and the morbid emphasis with which the pronoun of the first person is reiterated in the latest hymns.

§ 472. CITATIONS FROM THE RIGVEDA

(chiefly in respect of metre.)

The references are to the sections.

RV. i.	§	116. 6, 16	85	175. 4	66 N. 1, 85,
3. 8	217	117. 18	85		109(b)
9. 1	326	22	107(a)	177. 4	134
14. 3	134	119. 1	85	187. 1	71 N. 1
20. 3	89	120. 1	316 N. 2	7	88
35. 8	85	2	69 N. 2, 107(a)	189. 2	69
37. 14	323		N. 1	190. 7	85
38. 2	78	121. 1	159	191. 6	143(e)
43. 6	89	5	109(b)		
50. 5, 6	159	122. 1	298	RV. ii.	§
13	275	13	135	1. 10	326
54. 11	162	15	69		83
58. 8	69	127. 2	70 N. 6	3. 7	149
9	144(c)	7	152	4. 1	83
61. 9	202	10	212 N. 2		88
14	68	128. 7	70 N. 6		85
63. 5	143(g), 154	129. 5	70	6. 5	256
64. 15	69	8	87, 156	8. 1	159
69. 1	331	9	219	11. 2	143(f), 156
70. 3	159	10	86, 219		71 N. 1
71. 2	217	130. 3	70	13. 1	89
3	159	134. 2	87	15. 7	85
8	222	135. 4	107(b)	17. 5	109(b)
9	69	138. 4	85	6	87
77. 1	144(d)	141. 12	135, 143(h)	18. 6	82 N. 3
2	70, 143(g)	149. 3	69	19. 7	88
3	69, 143(h)	150. 1	85	20. 8	134
85. 9	144(d)	155. 1	298	23. 7	143(g)
88. 3	89	157. 3	85	12	159
94. 12	69	158. 1	94 N. 2, 109(b)	24. 5	80 N. 3
100. 5	85	161. 8	134, 323	28. 6	83
16	85, 107(b)	162. 19	85		
17	85	20	81		
104. 1	192	165. 6	166	RV. iii.	§
110. 4	362	15	153	13. 1	72
6	89	168. 5	85	14. 4	159
112. 19	205	173. 2	161	20. 1	88
113. 2	85	8	69	21. 5	320
6	162	12	70 N. 6	27. 2	256
114. 3	85	174. 9	326	30. 21	134

RV. viii.—continued. §		RV. x.	§	74. 1	316
52. 3	320 N. 5	1. 2	159	76. 1	108
54. 4	256	6	326	78. 6	152
58. 7	86	3. 4	86	79. 3	107(a)
60. 4	85	6. 3	89	83. 6	177
7	143(g)	5	107(c), 217	85. 25	85
10	83	7	254	84	88 N. 2
61. 7	161	14. 10, 11	83	46	213
10	256	20. 2	134	86. 4	83
64. 8	153	3	264	16, 17	134
65. 7	85	22. 1	316	87. 15	134
12	81	3	82	88. 1	298
81. 7	232	5	87	90. 4	134
8	256	6	172	93. 2	154
90. 10	156	23. 2	72	9	320 N. 5
92. 13	156	24. 2	143(f), 156	10	134
		5	82	15	85
		26. 1	88, 154	94. 11	152
		8	88	95. 8	316
RV. ix.	§	27. 15	149, 272	13	107(a)
9. 4	81 N. 1	28. 11	166	97. 22	254
13. 6	83	30. 9	72	103. 12	85
14. 4	85	39. 1	236	105. 4	316
18. 1	63	10	85	11	72
19. 6	83	40. 8	135	108. 11	69
24. 7	86	46. 5	159	129. 6	134
61. 23	85	48. 9	69	132. 3	109(b)
78. 1	85	49. 7	320	135. 7	134
85. 4	85	50. 4	107(b), 109(b)	136. 6	85
86. 43	109(a)	5	83	138. 4	88
87. 8	85	6	107(b)	140. 3	192
88. 2	155	51. 2	81	142. 1	159
89. 3	86	4	81	144. 5	134
94. 5	85	5	326	148. 4	89 N. 3, 144(c),
96. 21	81	9	134		216
98. 2	83	53. 4	108	151. 4	82
101. 12	152	5	152	158. 1	172
103. 13	219	59. 6	78 N. 1	2	134
109. 20	86	61. 4	70	162. 1, 2	160
111. 1	69	11	109(b)	163. 4	89
113. 2	85	13	143(g)	169. 2	82
		64. 14	159	180. 1	320
		72. 8	88		

ERRATA.

- p. 213 l. 12. In the third column on the left-hand side insert 'δ'.
- p. 248 l. 10. Add 'pupūriāh v. 6. 9'.
- p. 249 l. 13. Insert '387. 6'.
- l. 16. Omit '387. 6'.
- p. 251 l. 3 from bottom. In the first column for '2' read '3'.
- p. 260 l. 18. For '447' read '457'.
- p. 270 l. 20. After 'nom.' insert 'voc.'
- p. 313 l. 14 from bottom. In the column headed 'C' for '0' read '3'.
- p. 340 l. 13. For '113' read '101'.

TABLE SHEWING THE PROVISIONAL ASSIGNMENT OF THE RESPECTIVE HYMNS
OF THE RIGVEDA TO FIVE LITERARY EPOCHS, ACCORDING
TO KZ. XXXIV. (N. F. XIV.) PP. 297-344.

EXPLANATIONS.—The figures in the left-hand column for books ii.-x. are those used in Grassmann's Wörterbuch. The figures in brackets for viii. 49-92 are those shewn in Aufrecht's second edition of his Rigveda. The symbols A, etc., accompanying the sub-headings, denote the period to which those hymns are assigned which are not mentioned separately.				Book iii. B1.		Book v.			
Book i.				236-9	2-5	B2	355	1	B2
i. 1-50. A.				241	7	B2	356-60	2-6	B1
1	B2	92. 13-18	A	242	8	C1	361	7	A
11	B1	93. 1-3	B2	243-7	9-13	A	362	8	B1
13	B2	4-8	C1	250	16	A	363, 4	9, 10	A
22	B1	9-12	B2	251, 2	17, 18	B2	365, 6	11, 12	B1
23. 16-18	B2	i. 94-126. B2.		255-7	21-23	B2	367, 8	13, 14	A
19-24	C1	115	C1	259	25	A	369	15	B1
24. 6-15	C1	122	A	260	26	B2	370-2	16-18	A
28. 1-6	C2	i. 127-139. A.		261	27	A	373	19	B1
29	B1	133. 1-5	C1	262	28	C1	374-80	20-26	A
31-35	B2	i. 140-164. B2.		263, 4	29, 30	B2	381	27	B1
37, 38	B1	149-156	A	266	32	B2	382	28	B2
43. 7-9	B2	161-164	C1	267	33	C1	383	29	B1
50. 10-13	C2	i. 165-191. A.		268	34	B2	384-6	30-32	B2
51-54	B2	166	B1	270	36	B2	387, 8	33, 34	B1
59	B2	170	C2	271	37	A	389	35	A
62	B1	179	C1	273	39	B2	390, 1	36, 37	B2
64	B1	180	B2	274-6	40-42	A	392, 3	38, 39	A
66, 67	B1	182	B2	278, 9	44, 45	B2	394	40. 1-4	B1
71-73	B2	187	B1	285	51. 1-3	A	5-9 C2		
i. 74-93.				10-12 A		395	41	A	
74, 75	A	188	C1	286	52	B2	396, 7	42, 43	B1
76, 77	B1	189	B1	287	53. 1-16	B2	398	44. 1-13	B1
78	B2	190	B2	17-24 C2		399		45	B1
79. 1-3	B1	191	C1	288-91	54-57	B2	400, 1	46, 7	B2
4-12	A	Book ii. B1.		293	59. 6-9	A	402, 3	48, 49	B1
80-83	B1	194, 5	3, 4	294	60	B2	404	50	A
84. 1-9	A	196-8	5-7	296	62. 4-18	A	405	51. 1-10	A
10-12	B1	202	11	Book iv. A.			11-15 C2		
13-15	A	203	12	299	3	B1	406	52	A
16-18	B2	206	15	300, 1	4, 5	B2	407	53	B1
19, 20	A	208	17	303	7	B2	408, 9	54, 55	B2
85	B2	214, 5	23, 4	307, 8	11, 12	B2	410, 1	56, 57	B1
86	A	219-21	28-30	309	13	C1	412-4	58-60	B2
87	B1	223	32. 4-8	313	17	B1	415	61. 1-4	A
88	A	224	33	314	18	C1	5-10 B2		
89	B2	226-8	35-37	315	19	B2	11-19 A		
90	A	230, 1	39, 40	319	23	B1	416	62	C1
91. 1-17	B2	232	41. 1-15	320	24	B2	417	63	B1
18-23	C1	233, 4		321	25	B1	418-22	64-68	A
92. 1-4	B1	42, 43 C2		322-4	26-28	B2	423	69	B1
5-12	B2			326	30	B1	424-8	70-74	A
				329	33	B2	429-31	75-77	B1
				331	35	B1	432	78. 1-3	A
				334-6	38-40	B2	4-9 C2		
				338	42	B1	433	79	B1
				346	50. 1-9	B2	434-6	80-82	B2
				347	51	B2	437	83	C1
				349, 50	53, 54	B2	438, 9	84, 85	B2
				353, 4	57, 58	C1	440, 1	86, 87	A

TABLE SHEWING THE PROVISIONAL ASSIGNMENT OF THE RESPECTIVE HYMNS
OF THE RIGVEDA TO FIVE LITERARY EPOCHS, ACCORDING
TO KZ. XXXIV. (N. F. XIV.) PP. 297-344.

Book vi. A.			Book viii. A.			Book x.		
442	1	B1	621	1. 33, 34	C1	x. 1-9.		x. 89-150.
446-9	5-8	B2	634	14	B2	827	1	B1 915 89 B2
450	9	C1	649	29	B2	828	2	B2 916 90 C2
456	15, 16-19	B2	651	31. 1-4	C1	829, 30	3, 4	B1 917 91 C1
457	16, 46-48	B2	653	33. 16-19	C1	831	5	B2 918 92 B1
458, 9	17, 18	B1	659-61	39-41	B2	832, 3	6, 7	B1 919 93 A
463	22	B1	662	42. 1-3	B2	834	8	B2 920, 1 94, 5 C1
468	27	B1	667	47. 1-13	B2	835	9. 1-5	B2 922 96 B2
469	28	C1		14-18	C2		6-9	C1 923 97 C2
471	30	B1	668	48	B2			924 98 C1
488	47. 1-25	B2	1024, 5	V. 7, 8	B2			925 99 B1
	26-28	C1	1027	V. 10	C2	x. 10-19.		926 100 B2
	29-31	C2	1028	V. 11	C1	836	10	C1 927 101 C1
489	48. 22	C1	676	56 (67)	B1	837, 8	11, 12	B2 928, 9 102, 3 C2
490	49	B1	681	61 (72)	B2	839-41	13-15	C1 930-2 104-106 B2
493-9	52-58	B2	682	62 (73)	B1	842-5	16-19	C2 933 107 C2
501	60. 13-15	B1	686-8	66-68				934 108 C1
502	61. 1-3	B1		(77-79)	B2			935 109 C2
	13, 14	B2	689	69 (80)	B1	x. 20-26. A.		936-9 110-113 B3
503	62	B1	700	80 (91)	C1	849	23	B1 940 114 C2
505, 6	64, 65	B1	705	85 (96)	B1	850	24. 4-6	C2 941, 2 115, 116 B2
510, 1	69, 70	B1	709	89 (100).				943 117 C1
513	72	B2		1-6	B2			944, 5 118, 119 B2
515, 6	74, 75	C2		7-12	C1	x. 27-80. B2.		946 120 B1
			710	90 (101).		853, 4	27, 28	C1 947 121 C2
				14-16	B2	860	34	C1 948-50 122-124 B2
			711	91 (102)	B1	871-6	45-50	B1 951 125 C1
Book vii. A.			Book ix.			877-9	51-53	C1 952 126 B2
521, 2	5, 6	B2	ix. 1-67. A.			883, 4	57, 58	C2 953 127 C1
525, 6	9, 10	B2				885, 6	59, 60	C1 954-6 128-130 C2
529, 30	13, 14	B2				887	61	A 957-60 131-134 B2
534	18	B2				888	62	C1 961-3 135-137 C2
542	26	B1	717	5. 8-11	C2	897	71	C1 964 138 B2
549	33	C1	729	17	B1	898	72	C2 965 139. 1-3 B2
551	35	B2	779	67. 31, 32	C2	901	75	C1 966, 7 140, 141 B2
557	41	B2				902	76	B1 968 142 C1
560	44	C1	ix. 68-97. B1.					969, 70 143, 144 A
562, 3	46, 47	B2				x. 81-88. C1.		971, 2 145, 146 C2
565	49	B2	781	69	B2	911	85	C2 973, 4 147, 148 A
566	50	C2	782	70	A	913	87	C2 975 149 C1
570	54	B2	785	73	B2			976 150 B2
571	55	C2	792	80	B2			
575	59. 7, 8	B2	795	83	B2			x. 151-191. C2.
	12	C1	797	85	B2			979 153 B3
582	66. 10-16	B1	800	88	A			982 156 B2
591-3	75-77	B1	802	90	B2			986 160 B2
594-6	78-80	B2	806	94	A			996-8 170-172 B3
598, 9	82, 3	B2						1002 176 B2
605	89	B2	ix. 98-114. A.					1004 178 C1
613-6	97-100	B1						1005, 6 179, 180 B2
617, 8	101, 102	C1	824	112	C1			1013-5 187-189 B2
619, 20	103, 104	C2	825, 6	113, 114	C2			1017 191. 1 B2